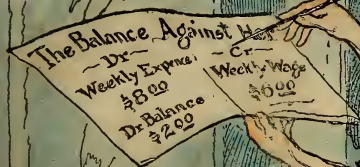


# The Girl's Fight for a Living



The Balance, Against Her

Dr—	Cr—
Weekly Expense	Weekly Wage
\$8.00	\$6.00
Dr. Balance	
\$2.00	

HOW TO PROTECT  
WORKING WOMEN  
FROM DANGERS DUE  
TO LOW WAGES



Class HD 6061

Book .R 8

Copyright N<sup>o</sup>                     

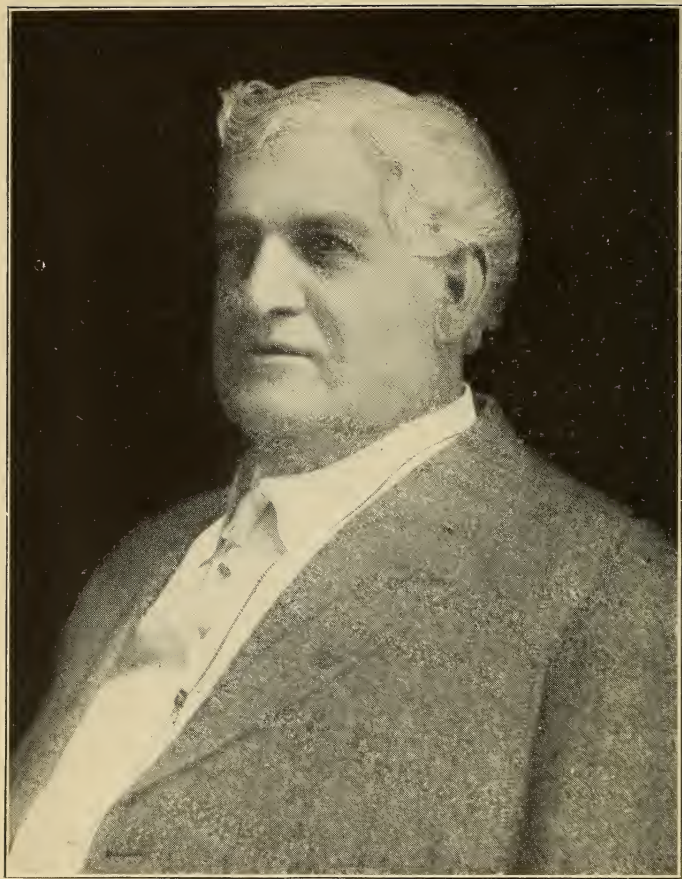
COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT.











HON. EDMOND BEALL

State Senator Representing the 47th District of Illinois and Popularly Known as the "Stork Mayor" of Alton, Ill. Active in the Work of the Illinois Vice Commission. A Retired Manufacturer, Senator Beall Has Stated that He Would Willingly Devote His Entire Fortune to the Removal of the Dangers that Confront Working Women through Low Wages and Other Causes.

# THE GIRL'S FIGHT FOR A LIVING

---

How to Protect Working Women From Dangers  
Due to Low Wages

By  
**THOMAS H. RUSSELL, A. M., LL. D.**  
Associate of the American Academy of Political  
and Social Science

An Impartial Survey of Present Conditions, Results  
of Recent Investigations, and Remedies Proposed.  
With Statements by Hon. Barratt O'Hara,  
Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois; Hon. Edmond  
Beall, Employers, and Governors of Many States

---

Illustrated With Portraits

---

,  
,  
, , ,  
, ,  
, , ,  
, , ,

Chicago  
**M. A. DONOHUE & COMPANY**  
Publishers

H I 6061

TR 8

COPYRIGHT, 1913, BY  
M. A. DONOHUE & CO.



©CL.A351292

Nov 1

**DEDICATED  
TO ALL WORKERS IN THE HIVE  
OF HUMAN INDUSTRY  
AND  
LOVERS OF HUMAN PROGRESS  
EVERYWHERE**

¶ "The investigation in Illinois brings out in bold relief the necessity of safeguarding the women and girls who labor for their daily bread. Virtue is too priceless a possession in woman to be taken from her either by the wiles of designing men or by the necessity of gaining her daily bread.

¶ "I believe in a minimum wage for women, and this minimum should be fixed at not less than Eight Dollars a week,—enough, at any rate, to give her the necessities of life and some of its comforts. I firmly believe that a woman ought not to be required by any employer to labor for Six Dollars a week, or less, and be required to maintain herself.

¶ "Our entire country needs to be aroused on this subject, and it is being aroused as never before."

—EARL BREWER,  
Governor of Mississippi.

---

¶ "The question of a minimum wage for women has passed beyond the realm of economics.

¶ "It has become intricately woven into the problem of our American womanhood, and as such it is unquestionably the most vital issue of today."

—BARRATT O'HARA,  
Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois.



## CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	7
-------------------	---

CHAPTER	PAGE
I—"The Bitterest Battle of All" . . . . .	11
II—What is a Living Wage? . . . . .	19
III—The Minimum Wage Campaign . . . . .	27
IV—Low Wages and Immorality . . . . .	45
V—The Illinois Investigation . . . . .	51
VI—Data Given by Employers . . . . .	65
VII—The Testimony in Detail . . . . .	72
VIII—More Important Evidence . . . . .	100
IX—The Inquiry Widens . . . . .	116
X—Investigation in Peoria . . . . .	120
XI—Many Governors Co-operate . . . . .	129
XII—Conditions in Washington . . . . .	143
XIII—Many Girls Resent Charges . . . . .	161
XIV—Opinions of the Press . . . . .	168
XV—What Girls and Women Say . . . . .	178
XVI—Two Views of the Problem . . . . .	195-200



## PREFACE

In this wonderful period of the world's progress the welfare of working women has taken its place among the problems that urgently demand solution.

The most recent development is the formation of public opinion on the subject of a "living wage" for girls and women who are compelled to earn a livelihood. Throughout the United States public attention has been focused on this subject by the work of a Commission of the State Senate of Illinois, appointed to investigate the so-called "white slave traffic" in the state and "to devise a comprehensive plan for the complete suppression of such traffic."

Very early in their investigations the members of the Commission sought testimony from employers and employed on the question whether or not there is any connection between the low wages paid to women in many industrial and commercial establishments and the immorality and commercialized vice admitted to be sadly prevalent in our cities and towns.

The views of witnesses examined by the Illinois Commission differ widely on this question and a similar divergence of opinion is found among public men, employers, and leaders in women's work throughout the United States, while public opinion in general appears to support the contention that at least a partial solution of the problem will be found in the establishment by law of a "minimum wage" for women workers.

## PREFACE

The purpose of this book, therefore, is to present, as impartially as possible, the results of the investigations already made, by the Illinois senators and many others, in order that a clear view may be had of the justice of the demand for a living wage as a means of suppressing immorality and vice in our larger centers of population.

The public interest in the question is intense. All classes of the community are concerned. Not only the workers whose pay envelopes will be affected by remedial legislation; the employers who will have to pay the increased wages or change their systems of help; the relatives dependent in whole or in part on the wages of women, and the parents whose girls are now or may be engaged in industrial effort,—not only these, but all classes of every community are interested in this grave economic problem as far as it concerns the comfort, the happiness, and the morality of the working women of America.

There is no desire to strive after the sensational in this volume. The evidence given before the Illinois Commission is sensational enough, in all conscience, and is presented here without exaggeration or coloring. The testimony, so far as it is used, is given fairly and impartially, as reported through mediums that would be naturally inclined perhaps to favor the views of the employer—the advertiser. But to the great credit of the newspapers be it said that whatever their editorial views may be, they have not failed, as a rule, to report the evidence in a spirit of fairness and the same spirit will be observed in these pages.

The effort has been made to give employer and employed alike a square deal, leaving the public to make the final

## PREFACE

decision whether the demand for a minimum wage for women is justified by the facts.

In the evidence given by employers many intimate details of business are brought out, while the testimony of employed girls and other women not so fortunate casts a bright light on many dark spots in our social organization. The result is a mass of information that will tend to clarify the public view and aid in the wise expression of the public will through state or national legislation.

T. H. R.

Chicago, April 10, 1913.





## Chapter I

### "THE BITTEREST BATTLE OF ALL"

What connection, if any, is there between the low wages admittedly paid to thousands of young girls and women in our varied industries and the frightful wave of immorality and vice that, with equal candor, is generally admitted to be flooding our centers of population?

This question has been carefully considered from many standpoints of late and the answers are widely divergent, but through them all there seems to run a current of conviction that present conditions cry aloud for some amendment.

From the President of the United States to the little cash girl in the department store and her anxious mother at home, the question is agitating all our people. It will not down until it is settled—and settled aright, in the interest of our common humanity.

The Bureau of Labor at Washington has wrestled with the problem and in a report declares that as a direct and immediate cause of girls going wrong low wages are "almost a negligible factor," though indirectly their influence is "marked and disastrous."

Many great employers of labor, too, can see little or no direct connection between low wages and immorality, asserting that the prime causes of vice are lack of moral stamina, improper environment in the home, and the influence of evil associates.

On the other hand, a noted woman investigator of social and business conditions emphatically says: "In my judgment the close connection between low wages and vice is unquestionable, and as wages stand now in the stores, in the shops, and in the factories, a heavy percentage of them are much too low for public safety."

"Neither lack of living wages alone nor of moral training only is entirely responsible for the wrecks upon the stream of life," says another investigator, "but both together go far to determine the fate of the many unfortunates."

### "The Bitterest Battle"

"No girl, be she rich or poor, is perfectly safe from the innumerable temptations that beset her on every hand in a great city," he continued. "**But the poor girl working for a pittance has the bitterest battle of all.** To her the terrible temptations are doubly trying.

"Anyone who declares this is not a question of wages cannot be correctly informed or does not dare to tell the truth, but anybody who says it is simply a question of wages is equally in error. This is both a question of morals and of money and of much more. The lack of moral and religious training of our boys and girls has much to do with it."

### What Some Women Say

Now read one of the many letters from women of the underworld, received by the Illinois Vice Commission. The writer said:

To the Commission:—Girls don't go wrong because they are hungry or because they need clothes. They go wrong because they are tempted by lies and overpowered by the evil in men.

They listen to the fair and pretty things that men tell them, and they fall because they think they can trust themselves and trust the tempters. The employer—I was a good girl and I worked in a store.

I didn't get much money, but that did not matter. I lived on \$8 a week and would be living like that now, but I met men. They seemed to consider me their prey and all the time it was fight—fight. They wanted to be nice to me, they said, and take me to the theaters and treat me fair—and give me a chance to enjoy life.

I didn't know men were bad, all bad—where a girl is concerned. I thought only women were bad. I thought all a girl had to do to remain good was to be truthful with herself. God pity women who think that and who keep their trust in men until it is too late.

Every day it was someone else—always smiling at me, always trying to give me a "fair chance" to be happy. In the street they followed me. These I could avoid—but the "friends" who hung around!

That is the big, big secret of the thing that makes a good girl bad. If they had let me be—if they had only let me be—only let me live as I wanted to, I would not have to slink into the room when your Commission was trying to solve things and wouldn't have had to sit in a corner with a veil down, afraid to look good women in the face.

Another cry from the underworld, signed "L. M.," echoed the words of the first letter. It was more bitter, though, and it read in part:

You're looking for the things that made such women as I. Low wages! Dance halls! Hunger! Cold! They all helped a bit, but they did not turn the trick themselves.

I don't know any girls who sold themselves for money to buy bread or clothes, but I do know lots of us who hit the road for hell because a lot of blackguards kept hounding us with their rotten "attentions." God help the men and not us. We're all right when we start—all we need is to

be left alone. There are hundreds and hundreds of kids and sports who hang around State street and wait like wolves for the tired girls to leave the stores.

Why don't you make the men be good? All the wages in the world won't help us. Make the men good and the girls will be good. Now they haven't got a chance and they never will as long as the law smiles at one and spits at another.

### **Moral Reform Needed**

Regarding the need of reform a Chicago pastor said in his Easter sermon:

"Vice and crime and immorality—in high places and low, in public and private life—are assuming alarming proportions. The cry goes up, 'What shall I do to stop it?' Put a few more policemen walking beats, put more laws on the statute books, build a few more prisons, and then you imagine you will turn this generation towards high righteous living. This is like curing a disease by rubbing a little liniment on the outside."

### **When Opinions Differ**

Here then we have examples of widely different opinions and before any correct solution of the problem can be arrived at the public must decide which is right and which is wrong.

Can a girl working for \$5 or \$6, with necessary expenses amounting to \$8 a week, make both ends meet without resorting to evil courses?

That is part of the question that needs a satisfactory answer, but it is only a part. Should a girl be compelled to work for a mere living wage—the pittance that will furnish only necessary food, shelter and clothing—or

should she be enabled to enjoy also some little comforts and to lay aside something for the future out of her wage? This also calls for an answer and will be considered later on.

### **Worse Than Black Slavery**

"Before the civil war," said Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara, chairman of the Illinois Vice Commission, "this country had black slavery. In return for his unremitting industry the black slave received his living. If it is true that the women of today are working eight and ten hours a day and practically surrendering their liberty as well as their industry through long hours, as testified before the Commission in many instances, then they are receiving less than a living. In such cases only one term can be applied, whether their condition be moral or immoral, and that is **white slave** and that presents to the nation a bigger question, if anything, than that of the black slave.

"This condition has been growing in the realization of the people for years, and the solution can be obtained only through the co-operation of the employers and the employed. The Commission's only endeavor is to open the eyes of both classes to the menace, and to prepare the public for a solution which will be a solution. We are trying to work for the employer as well as for the employees.

"We have been told of girls who work ten hours daily and receive \$2 to \$2.50 a week. We doubt if this condition is at all general, but in due course of time we shall reach these persons and get their story as well as that of their employers. The Commission will not stop until



it has reached every avenue of trade in which girls are employed.

"The Commission believes that the problem it is attempting to solve concerns every state in the Union and requires the co-operation of them all."

### Stunned by the Testimony

Early in March, 1913, Mr. O'Hara wired from Chicago to the New York Herald as follows:

To the Editor of the Herald: Our investigation into the causes and effect of white slavery in this state has shown conclusively that thousands of good girls are going wrong every year merely because they can not live upon the wages paid them by employers.

The conditions revealed to our commission have been only half told in the press reports. Senator Edmond Beall, a veteran of the civil war and a man of wide experience with the world, broke down completely and wept during the examination of the victims of low wages at our executive session.

Senator Beall is a retired manufacturer, worth a great many thousands of dollars. He told me that he intended to spend every cent of his fortune and every hour of his time to save American womanhood from the piteous menaces that our investigation has shown constantly surround her.

"White slavery presents a hundred times greater national crisis than did black slavery," the venerable senator declared to me, "and I say that as one who fought four years in the battles of the civil war."

Senators Tossey and Woodard of the Commission have declared themselves in like manner. We have investigated this matter sanely and conservatively. We have tried to let the sunlight in on a condition and to spare individuals. We have accorded to all witnesses exact





THOMAS H. RUSSELL, A. M., LL. D.  
General Secretary, Clean Language League of America,  
Who originated the crusade against suggestive songs,  
one of the contributing causes of immorality  
investigated by the Illinois Senatorial  
Commission.



HON. NIELS JUUL

State Senator of Illinois, a prominent Chicago lawyer and member  
of the Illinois Vice Commission

justice and full courtesy. And at the end of our labors so far we are appalled, stunned, horrified.

American womanhood is in grave peril solely and only because American manhood profits from the helplessness of womanhood to enrich itself. There is no other conclusion to be derived. It is a national shame, but it must be faced now and boldly.

The Illinois Commission began its labors with no idea to do other than investigate the question of white slavery as the term is applied to the buying and selling of women. We were forced soon, however, to realize that low wages were the real fundamental cause of white slavery, and that to study the effect and ignore the cause would be to give to our investigation the appearance and reality of a farce. We refused to be parties to a farce.

### **Governors Pledge Their Aid**

Thirty-two governors of states have pledged their aid in remedying conditions if it be shown that there is a direct connection between low wages and immorality. President Wilson will lend his co-operation and state legislation will be supported and made more effective by national laws for the better protection of women and girls should the need arise.

In the discussion of this subject there is no intention or desire to cast undue aspersion upon the general morality and purity of women workers. All such intention has been expressly disavowed by the leaders in the present nation-wide agitation. In the matter of virtue and moral sense our womanhood compares more than favorably with that of any other civilized country. The nation is proud of its working women, proud of their character, of their efficiency and of their achievements. The leaders of the movement for a minimum wage desire simply to

make their path in life easier and smoother, to remove conditions that lessen the power to withstand temptation and that make the life of some working girls "the bitterest battle of all."

## Chapter II

### WHAT IS A LIVING WAGE?

The exact amount that may be called a "living wage" for women undoubtedly varies according to locality, while other considerations must also be taken into account. But before fixing any definite amount as a standard for any locality the question, "What is a living wage?" must be answered from another standpoint.

Is it to be an amount that shall provide only the bare necessities of life or shall it include some provision for comforts, recreation, and the future? On this point opinions differ as widely as they do on the connection between low wages and vice.

Some Chicago employers, questioned as to what, in their judgment, is the smallest sum on which a self-supporting girl can live in that city, mentioned \$8 as their idea of the minimum. Others said \$7.50 and in Washington and elsewhere the testimony has been that girls can live there for less than in Chicago.

In a report made public March 12, 1913, the social service committee of the Milwaukee Federation of Charities declared that a working woman needs \$8.90 a week to support herself in the Cream City—and the committee urged young women who expect to support themselves to keep away from the city unless they have an assured income of at least \$9 a week, domestic servants excepted.

## 2) THE GIRL'S FIGHT FOR A LIVING

### Consider \$8 a Living Wage

The first apparent result of the white slavery senatorial investigation in Illinois was an increase in the wages of 800 of the women and girls employed by the International Harvester Company to a minimum of \$8, while the company planned also to raise the salaries of 700 other female employees.

"We found by investigation that the women and girls who already were getting \$8 would expect to be paid more than green hands, who formerly were getting \$6 and who will now get a minimum wage of \$8," said Mr. Clarence S. Funk, general manager of the company. "This will result in a horizontal graduated increase which will affect practically every woman and girl in our employ. Instead of merely raising the wages of 800 it means that 1,500 will be benefited by the new rule.

"It will cost the International Harvester company about \$75,000 annually to put through this scheme. At present the lowest priced girls in our employ get \$6. Even the most ignorant and unskilled of the foreign girls are never paid less than that.

"We consider \$8 a living wage for a girl, whether living at home or not; it makes no difference. Our welfare workers have been studying this question for several months and decided that \$8 was about right. Of course if Illinois should pass a minimum wage law making \$12 the legal wage we would at once give the girls another raise."

Another official of the Harvester Company said: "Our investigation of women's wages was undertaken



last July. When the report came in from our investigator we determined to establish this wage. The \$8 basis was recommended by the investigator and was also derived from government reports. After hearing all the evidence we did not deem it fair to pay our girls less than \$8 a week, in view of the increased cost of living. Our investigator made some study of the living conditions—how deeply I cannot say.

“This move is in no way linked with the vice investigation movement. No question of morality entered into our action at any time. Our desire was to establish a minimum that would be fair and reasonable. The girls affected are mostly of foreign birth. They are not required to dress up for their employment. Many of those to whom we will pay \$8 could not earn a dollar downtown. Of course, this makes the eight-dollar minimum proportionately higher for them.”

Here we see that the question of dress enters into the problem. Girls employed in factories, as a rule, are not required to dress for their work as expensively as those engaged in clerical duties or in selling goods. The amount estimated as necessary for dress might therefore be less in the case of the factory girl, and a living wage for her might be fixed at a lower figure than for the girl whose expense for clothes and laundry work is necessarily greater. And this is only one of the factors to be taken into consideration in establishing an equitable living wage for all, unless the various employments are differentiated as to wages—which, for purposes of legislation, would no doubt cause endless confusion and dissatisfaction.

### The Living Wage Principle

The principle of a living wage has always been more or less firmly fixed in the consciousness of trades unionists. "It is a vital principle," says Webb in his "Industrial Democracy," "that a man by his labor should live, and notwithstanding all the teachings of political economists and all the doctrines taught by way of supply and demand, a greater doctrine overrides all these, the doctrine of humanity."

In the United States the idea of a living wage is expressed by organized labor in the "Union scale," or the rate of wages that the Union demands for its members in any given industry. This is the minimum that the organized workers regard as required for right living. Not the minimum on which life can be supported, but the lowest rate for which a man **ought to work**. In the eyes of union labor, therefore, a "living wage" is in reality a "right living wage"—sufficient to afford the worker not merely a livelihood, but a **decent** livelihood.

The same view is taken by those who advocate for women in the state of Illinois, not the minimum wage of \$8 on which life may be supported, but a minimum wage of, say, \$12, on which a woman worker may live decently and in some degree of comfort.

The idea of establishing a living wage by law is not by any means new or untried. In Australia legal boards have been created with authority to establish a minimum wage, for the express purpose of preventing the remuneration of any class of workers from being reduced below the cost of living. And in New Zealand, a court of arbitration is empowered to fix a minimum wage that will apply, not

only to the parties interested in any particular dispute, but to all who are "connected with or engaged in the industry to which the award applies within the industrial district to which the award relates."

### **The Claim to a Living Wage**

"The claim to a living wage is a right," says Professor John A. Ryan of St. Paul Seminary, in an able work on the ethical and economic aspects of the subject. "It is an individual, natural and absolute right." And natural rights are the moral means or opportunities by which the individual attains the end appointed to him or her by nature. Hence, conditions of labor that make the life of a working girl "the bitterest battle of all" may easily be regarded as an infringement upon her natural rights. Especially would this seem to be the case when the amelioration of such conditions would not interfere with the reasonable profits of the employer, as was testified by several employers before the Senatorial Commission in Chicago.

The right to a living wage is said, ethically, to be valid against "the members of the community in which the laborer lives." This refers not merely to the employers, but probably to other persons as well, or to the community in its civil capacity, that is, the State. And every economic and ethical argument that may be advanced in favor of a living wage for the male laborer applies equally, no doubt, to the self-supporting female worker.

"Hence women who are forced to provide their own sustenance," says Professor Ryan, "have a right to what is a living wage for them. Since they have no other way

of living but by their labor, the compensation therefor should be sufficient to enable them to live decently. And children of either sex who have reached the age at which they can, without detriment to themselves or society, become wage earners, but who cannot perform the work of adults, have a right to a wage sufficient to afford them a decent livelihood. They are entitled to this because their wages, generally speaking, constitute their sole source of maintenance."

This doctrine of wages is said by Professor Richard T. Ely, the noted economist of the University of Wisconsin, to be "a clear-cut, well-defined theory, resting upon broad Christian, religious and ethical foundations."

### A Decent Livelihood

Mr. C. S. Devas, in his "Political Economy," summarizes the minimum livelihood that should be guaranteed to all workers thus: 1, the means of physical existence; 2, practical possibility of marriage; 3, a separate home; 4, insurance against sickness, old age and industrial accidents; 5, some access to the treasures of literature, art and culture.

"The American standard of living," says John Mitchell, "should mean to the unskilled worker, carpets, pictures, books, and furniture with which to make the home bright, comfortable and attractive; an ample supply of clothing suitable for winter and summer, and above all a sufficient quantity of good, wholesome, nourishing food at all times of the year."

Apply this standard to the case of a self-supporting, growing girl of 17, working for \$5 a week, living in a

barren hall bedroom and subsisting on ten-cent lunches—and note how far she comes from realizing it.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor describes a living wage as “a wage which, when expended in the most economical manner, shall be sufficient to maintain one in a manner consistent with whatever the contemporary local civilization recognizes as indispensable to physical and mental health, or as required by the rational self-respect of human beings.”

In the views of these two great and respected labor leaders there is a strong note of conviction that the hire of the laborer should afford him (or her) some of the comforts of life as well as the bare necessities, and that the laborer is worthy of his hire.

The material requisites of decent living for a working woman may be summed up as a reasonable amount of food, clothing and shelter. Then there should be added a reasonable means of provision against sickness, accidents and the exigencies of the future, and the means of enjoying a moderate amount of amusement and recreation, literature, social intercourse and religious association.

Food, clothing, shelter, insurance and mental and moral culture—these are essential conditions of a decent livelihood. Any wage that falls short of securing them for the working girl will therefore be deemed to fall short of being a “living wage.”

[N. B.—The estimates of various persons as to the actual amount required to support a working girl in different cities of the Union will be found in the testimony before the Illinois Commission, reported in subsequent chapters.]



### Obligation of the Employer

In the judgment of many students of political economy and ethics, the obligation to pay a living wage falls upon the employer "as a reasonable consequence of his position in the economic organism. From this responsibility he cannot free himself by appealing to the labor contract or to the productivity of labor; for the former is consistent with extortion, while the latter is usually unknowable, and is always inferior to needs as a canon of distribution."

Inability to perform the obligation suspends it (as no one is morally bound to do the impossible), but inability must not be so interpreted as to favor the superfluous needs of the employer at the expense of the essential needs of the worker. The employer's right to obtain interest on the capital invested in his business, though real, is subordinate to the worker's right to a living wage. [Ryan, "A Living Wage," p. 261.]

Under this Christian view of the ethics of employment, the employer is obliged to pay a living wage before he obtains interest on his invested capital, while a corporation is under obligation to pay a living wage at the expense of dividends.

## Chapter III

### THE MINIMUM WAGE CAMPAIGN

As a protector of natural rights, the State, it is claimed, ought to compel employers to pay a living wage. This is the view taken by many eminent economists, including that great authority, Professor W. S. Jevons, in "The State in Its Relation to Labor." And though it is disputed by others of perhaps equal authority, the fact remains that the state does in many instances regulate the amount of wages paid to labor.

As we have already seen, the principle of a living wage by legal enactment has already been tested in the Minimum Wage Boards and the Wage Arbitration Courts of Australia and New Zealand, respectively. The results are said to be a complete justification of the wisdom of such laws. Of the New Zealand law an impartial observer, Dr. Victor S. Clark, says in a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, "The act is a success beyond the expectation of many of its early supporters."

In this country the demand for a minimum wage for women is of comparatively recent growth. Perhaps nothing did more to concentrate public attention upon the question than the plank in the platform of the new Progressive party, adopted at Chicago August 7, 1912, which said:



"The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in state and nation for . . . minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a 'living wage' in all industrial occupations."

This demand made a strong appeal to the inner consciousness of the people and was indorsed by many who did not support the Progressive platform as a whole nor vote for the candidates of that party. Many Democrats and Republicans alike indorsed the principle of the minimum wage in their campaign speeches, and Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, the Democratic candidate for the presidency, whose election followed in November, was believed to be heartily in favor of it.

### **The Chicago Vice Commission**

Prior to this, however, in April, 1911, a Vice Commission appointed by the Mayor of Chicago and composed of leading citizens, had reported on the connection between low wages and immorality as follows:

As to the economic side of the question—the life of an unprotected girl who tries to make a living in a great city is full of torturing temptations. First, she faces the problem of living on an inadequate wage—six dollars a week is the average in a mercantile establishment. If she were living at home where the mother or sister could help her with mending, sewing and washing, where her board would be small—perhaps only a dollar or two toward the burden carried by the other members of the family—where her lunch would come from the family larder, then her condition might be as good as if she earned eight dollars a week.

The girl who has no home soon learns of "city povrty," all the more cruel to her because of the artificial contrast.

She quickly learns of the possibilities about her, of the joys of comfort, good food, entertainment, attractive clothes. Poverty becomes a menace and a snare. One who has not beheld the struggle or come in personal contact with the tempted soul of the underpaid girl can never realize what the poverty of the city means to her.

One who has never seen her bravely fighting against such fearful odds will never understand. A day's sickness and a week out of work are tragedies in her life. They mean trips to the pawnbroker's, meager dinners, a weakened will, often a plunge into the abyss from which she so often never escapes.

Hundreds, if not thousands, of girls from country towns and those born in the city, but who have been thrown on their own resources, are compelled to live in cheap boarding or rooming houses on the average wage of \$6. How do they exist on this sum? It is impossible to figure it out on a mathematical basis. If the wage were \$8 a week and the girl paid \$2.50 for her room, \$1 for laundry and 60 cents for carfare, she would have less than 50 cents left at the end of the week. That is, provided she ate 10-cent breakfasts, 15-cent luncheons and 25-cent dinners. But there is no doubt that many girls do live on even \$6 and do it honestly, but we can affirm that they do not have nourishing food or comfortable shelter, or warm clothes, or any amusement, except perhaps free public dances, without outside help, either from charity in the shape of girls' clubs, or friends in the country home. How can she possibly exist, to say nothing of live?

Is it any wonder that a tempted girl who receives only \$6 a week working with her hands sells her body for \$25 a week when she learns that there is a demand for it and men are willing to pay the price? On the one hand her employer demands honesty, faithfulness and a "clean and neat appearance," and for all this he contributes from his profits an average of \$6 for every week.

Her honesty alone is worth this inadequate wage, dis-

regarding the consideration of her efficiency. In the sad life of prostitution, on the other hand, we find here the employer, demanding the surrender of her virtue, pays her an average of \$25 a week.

Which employer wins the half-starved child to his side in this unequal battle? It would be unjust, however, to cast any reflection upon those girls who are brave and pure by intimating that because they earn so small a wage they must necessarily be in the same class with those other girls who, unable to survive longer the heroic battle against poverty and self-sacrifice, have succumbed and gone down.

This report was signed by the following prominent citizens of Chicago, including judges, employers, physicians, clergymen, educators, and sociologists:

W. L. BAUM, M. D.,	REV. ALBERT EVERS,
REV. J. G. KIRCHER,	JULIUS ROSENWALD,
DAVID BLAUSTEN,	W. W. HALLAM,
LOUIS O. KOHTZ,	L. E. SCHMIDT, M. D.,
P. J. O'KEEFE,	A. W. HARRIS, LL. D.,
ANNA DWYER, M. D.,	ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
JUDGE HARRY OLSON,	REV. E. A. KELLY,
W. A. EVANS, M. D.,	JOHN L. WHITMAN,

REV. P. J. O'CALLAGHAN,  
JUDGE M. W. PINCKNEY,  
ALEXANDER ROBERSTON,  
REV. F. W. GUNSAULUS, D. D.,  
BISHOP C. T. SHAFFER,  
WILLIAM HEALY, M. D.,  
EDWARD M. SKINNER,  
PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR,  
REV. ABRAM HIRSCHBERG,

PROFESSOR WILLIAM I. THOMAS,  
PROFESSOR C. R. HENDERSON,  
PROFESSOR H. L. WILLETT,

### Action in Illinois

On Feb. 4, 1913, Hon. Barratt O'Hara of Chicago, who had been elected Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, took his seat as president of the State Senate at Springfield. His remarks on that occasion marked the opening of the Illinois campaign against "white slavery" which has developed a nation-wide movement in favor of the living wage for women. He said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE—I feel in going into the office of your presiding officer it would not be inappropriate on my part to address to you a few remarks setting forth the policy that will guide me during the next four years. . . .

In my judgment the most vital problem for this distinguished body to solve in the interest of the people of Illinois, and, in a general way in the interest of the people of the world, is that problem that has to do with the chastity of our women and the sanctity of our homes. No observing man can have failed to notice with keen alarm the growth of an industry that thrives from the greed of men upon the purity of women. So appalling has been the spread of the industry of the white slave that it is receiving the most serious consideration of the foremost thinkers in all the nations of civilization and the conditions upon which it thrives are being studied today by governmental commissions in every nation that makes the slightest pretense of culture and enlightenment.

Personally, I should favor in this State the introduction of this system of punishment when a man is guilty of being a party to the white slave industry, the institution of the old flogging post. I believe any man who will be so low

as to attack the purity of woman by engaging in this industry should be lashed publicly as they lashed them in the old colonial days, and that law has recently gone into effect in the enlightened country of Great Britain—in England they now whip anyone that engages in the industry of the white slave.

I trust this body will begin its work by providing for a commission to study conditions relating to the white slave industry, and it is to that movement that I shall devote my chief energies and efforts during the next four years.

These remarks by the Lieutenant Governor aroused great interest throughout the state.

### A Commission Appointed

The formal resolution creating a Vice Commission was offered in the Illinois Senate on the same day (Feb. 4) by Senator Beall of the 47th District, and read as follows:

WHEREAS, There is a nation-wide movement in progress for the purpose of extirpating the white slave traffic, so called; and

WHEREAS, The Senate is advised that the white slave traffic is not yet extinct in the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, Such traffic is a stigma upon our civilization and a heinous crime, that strikes at the very vitals of our social well-being; be it

*Resolved*, By the Senate, that a committee be appointed to consist of the President of the Senate, as Chairman thereof, and four Senators, to be appointed forthwith by the Executive Committee of the Senate, and named by the President of the Senate, to investigate the subject of white slave traffic in Illinois; be it further

*Resolved*, That such committee shall investigate the workings of the present statutes of our State, dealing with the subject of white slave traffic, and shall report such amendments and additions, if any, to said statutes, as the committee shall deem necessary and adequate in the premises. Be it further



*Resolved*, That such committee shall co-operate with bureaus or committees appointed in other states, for the purpose of devising a comprehensive plan for the complete suppression of such white slave traffic. Be it further

*Resolved*, That such committee shall report its findings, conclusions and recommendations to this session of the Senate, or if not practicable, to the Senate of the Forty-ninth General Assembly; be it further

*Resolved*, That such committee shall have the power to administer oaths, take evidence, subpoena witnesses, and compel them to testify, compel the production of books, papers and documents, and do any and all other lawful acts to carry out the foregoing purposes. Be it further

*Resolved*, That said committee may appoint such clerks or investigators as it may deem necessary. Be it further

*Resolved*, That such expenses connected with the foregoing, as shall be necessary, shall be certified by the chairman of said committee and the chairman of the contingent expense committee of the Senate, and shall be payable out of the fund for committee expenses of the Forty-eighth General Assembly.

The resolution was adopted unanimously, 35 to 0, and the following Senators were appointed to serve on the Committee with the president of the Senate, Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara: Edmond Beall, Alton, Ill.; Niels Juul, Chicago; F. Jeff Tossey, Toledo, Ill., and D. T. Woodard, Benton, Ill.

The Commission began its work of investigation in Chicago February 28, 1913. The general trend of the early testimony brought the subject of the living wage to the front and steps were soon taken to secure the co-operation of other states in the enactment of remedial legislation.

### Statement by Chairman O'Hara

After the Commission had listened to testimony for two days Chairman O'Hara made the following statement regarding its work:

"The investigation and suppression of white slave traffic has been in my mind for some years, and it was a matter of sentiment that caused me to begin it on the seventh anniversary of my wedding. One of my wife's bridesmaids was a Michigan girl, whose parents were wealthy. Her father failed and she was obliged to take a position in a Chicago department store at \$5 a week.

"She met a middle-aged man in the course of business, who took what he termed 'a fatherly interest' in her. He wanted to advance her money to buy better clothes and finally persuaded her to dine with him at a hotel. She consulted my wife and me about it, and we warned her of the danger. Fortunately she withdrew unscathed and is now happily married.

"But the peril she had been placed in determined me, if ever I held public office, to try and stamp out such practices, for this was one path to white slavery.

"If at the end of two years the Illinois Commission can go before the legislature with a bill born of study of practical experiences, we will have accomplished but one-half of the work. It will be valueless unless we have succeeded in arousing public sentiment, which will demand the passage and enforcement of the bill. To do this we intend holding open sessions.

"To most persons the term 'white slavery' has become something of a joke—merely a newspaper headline. I think our two days' testimony has shown the constant



peril and temptation that exists because of low wages and bad home environment. We have shown the existence of an organized industry in vice. It also has been shown that it is possible to effect genuine cures, and that rescued girls can have ambition to lead respectable lives."

### **Blames Poverty and Dance Halls**

"I think the two days' work of the commission has demonstrated that poverty is the underlying cause of white slavery," said State Senator Niels Juul, the other Chicago member of the Vice Commission. "Poverty and lack of proper home conditions drive the girls to the dance halls. There they become easy victims of those who can hold out promises of an easy life.

"In calling on leading business men for testimony regarding wages paid women employees there is no intention to hound them. If the Commission can show them facts, I am sure they will help make conditions right. Most of these men have made so much wealth they are in a position willingly to give a helping hand. Every employer should realize that a woman should be worth a sufficient wage to clothe and feed her decently and give her a little over for simple pleasure. Every one is entitled to that.

"If the Commission doesn't do anything else but let in the light it will have done good. But I am sure it will do more than that."

And Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, a former candidate for Mayor, said at the same time: "Conditions shown before the white slave committee of the Illinois legislature are a standing menace to good citizenship. The organized vice trade set forth is

a challenge to the decent home and the decent citizenship of our town."

Thousands of letters were received by the Commission from all parts of the country as its inquiry progressed, the great majority indorsing its plans and advocating a living wage for women as one means of relief from an intolerable moral situation.

### **Opposed to a Minimum Wage**

But there were not lacking those who raised their voices in protest against the general application of a minimum wage. Thus John M. Glenn, Secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, in a talk before the Women's Commercial Association, said:

"In my opinion it would be exceedingly difficult to make a minimum wage scale for women which could apply in fairness to the whole state. A scale that in a city might be reasonable, in a smaller town might be so exorbitant as to drive the manufacturer out of business. Much that is unjust has been said about the treatment of their help by manufacturers.

"The fact of the matter is that girls leave domestic work and the farms and come to work in the city because they like the sort of work and the surroundings they find when at work in a big, sanitary factory. Sociologists are wrong when they claim the only lures of the city are its places of amusements and opportunity to wear gaudy clothes."

### **Laundrymen See Disaster**

The Laundrymen's Association of Illinois also made itself heard. The report of its legislative committee,

presented at the annual meeting of the Association March 17, contained the following criticism:

"The scope of the Senate Vice Commission has broadened to such an extent that it has gone beyond its original mission, resulting in much hysteria and sentimentality regarding a proposition which has little to do with vice and which is an economic problem and should be treated as such. This association desires to go on record as favoring the creation of an industrial commission to be appointed by the governor to gather data and statistics with reference to wages and conditions under which women work in the various industries in the state as a basis for a minimum wage, if such investigation warrants the enactment of a minimum wage law.

"This association is not opposed to a reasonable minimum wage for women, but we do feel that a figure anything like the various amounts mentioned in the hearing before the vice committee would be most disastrous to the laundry industry. Complete data should be obtained before any attempt is made to settle on any figure as a standard minimum.

"If a minimum wage is adopted would it be fair, for instance, to both employers and employees to set the same figure for a large city like Chicago as would be paid in smaller communities in the state where the cost of living is much less?

"This minimum wage proposition concerns the laundry industry more vitally than any other line; for ours is a service commodity where it is a much more difficult problem to make the consumer 'pay the freight.'"

### Criticism from Women

Under the caption, "The Girl Who Works Is Not the Girl Who Errs; Some Sharp Responses to Those Who Muck-Rake Her," the New York World has published articles on the subject by several well-known writers. Following are several extracts from these articles:

"It seems to me to be paying a pretty poor compliment to the young women of this country to suggest that their virtue hangs upon such a slender thread that its price can be fixed somewhere between \$6 and \$8 a week," said Miss Jeannette Gilder.

"To describe the kind of girl that ends on the street as an innocent, moral creature who falls a victim to man's evil passions only because she is driven to choose between starvation and a life of shame, is an absurd burlesque of the facts.

"It is no doubt true that a certain number of innocent girls are led astray by men, but the number of cases must be very small in which a man deliberately sets out to ruin a girl when he sees that his first overtures are met with genuine disgust and aversion."

#### Sees Failure in Movement

"Those who are seeking to express women's virtue in terms of dollars and cents are, no doubt, animated by praiseworthy motives," said Dr. Grace Pelham Murray, "but whatever results their efforts may have, it is extremely unlikely that one of them will be an improvement in human morals.

"In the first place, it is a question on which it is impossible that a full and frank discussion of all the factors can be expected; in the second place, it concerns matters about which practically no one, male or female, will speak the whole truth at a public inquiry; and, finally, even if all the facts could be elicited it would be hopeless to look for any agreement as to what they meant or as to what ought to be done to better the conditions disclosed."

### Wages and Morals Foreign

"In regard to the specific point which is being so widely discussed, of the relation between wages and virtue," said Ida M. Tarbell, "it seems to me that it is a foolish as well as an unjust thing to try to make it appear that the precise economic condition of a girl fixes in any considerable number of cases the state of her morality.

"Two considerations make such a hypothesis untenable. One is that there is no class of people in any civilized country in which the morality of the woman is higher than it is in the very poorest classes.

"The other is that there is a good deal of evidence to show that there is at least as large a proportion of unmoral women among the moderately well-to-do, the well-to-do, and the rich as there is among those who are just able to earn a decent living.

"After all the arguments have been advanced that can be advanced to prove that upon man should be placed the blame when women sacrifice their virtue, the plain fact remains that, except where violence is employed, the issue depends finally on the consent of the woman.

"I do not mean to imply that a woman deliberately sets out to capture a man with a view to establishing any irregular relationship with him. What I mean is that many unthinking women will, whenever occasion offers, use their sex, consciously or unconsciously, for the purpose of gaining influence over men, and that once they have come to realize the power they can exert they fall under a strong temptation to force its exercise further and further for the gratification of their wishes, whether these lie in the direction of flattery, gifts, or matrimony.



"Women are rarely honest with themselves about their attitude toward men," continued Miss Tarbell. "I suppose that if a woman were to go up to any one of the thousand girls that may be seen on Fifth avenue dressed in the present alluring and suggestive fashion, their cheeks and lips painted, and were to suggest to such a girl that her chief object in dressing and adorning herself in that fashion was to excite the emotions of the men, she would profess and often feel the greatest astonishment and indignation."

"But if the matter is faced frankly it is precisely a man hunt, disguised if you will by silks and satins, by lingerie and lace, by the conventions of society, but none the less a man hunt."

"Talk with these girls and women and they will deny it indignantly. They are simply dressing according to the fashion."

### Refuses to be Alarmed

Other critics declared that a minimum wage would lead to the wholesale discharge of girls and women from places now held by them, and their replacement by men. But even this prospect failed to create much alarm among the supporters of the movement. For example, the Rev. Melbourne P. Boynton of Lexington Avenue Baptist church, Chicago, in a sermon on "The Girl Below the Bread Line," said it would have its advantages.

"It is wholly desirable to remove tens of thousands of young girls from department stores, the offices, the factories, and other places where they are now employed," he declared, "and put in their places, at a living wage, male help. Scarcely anything we could do would so

greatly promote domestic happiness and bring about such wholesale making of homes.

"Such a movement would result in more marriages than this republic ever has seen. Young people would marry by the tens of thousands, for the girls allowed to remain at home would develop domestic instincts and young men, paid a living wage, would be able to make their own homes.

"Any one who works the required number of hours during the day, or the week, should receive the legitimate wage for such labor, whether they are in need of the entire sum for living expenses or not. That is no business of the employer. A rich girl willing to work should receive full wages for services rendered. This is the only just way to arrange the wage question.

"Let the semi-public corporations that are employing young folk be put in the limelight with the department store managers and the mail order houses."

### **The Movement in Washington**

Before the Illinois Vice Commission visited Washington, as hereinafter described, President Wilson let it be known that he favors the principle of a minimum wage for working women and expects to deal with the problem during his administration. The Secretary of the new Department of Labor is charged with the development of the government policy on the subject, after exhaustive investigation and consideration.

The president indorses a minimum wage for women, just as he favors an eight hour day for men, as well as women. He believes conditions making starvation wages possible should be legislated out of existence by both the states and the national government.



That the states have power to enact minimum wage legislation is not questioned at Washington, but the general opinion is that jurisdiction of the federal government in this regard is limited.

President Wilson contends that the suppression of child labor is a state function, and that the federal government could pass prohibitory legislation applying only to the District of Columbia and the employment of children by interstate railroads, express, telephone, and telegraph companies. Likewise, it is said, he is inclined to hold that the federal government could not go beyond this jurisdiction in minimum wage legislation.

### Opinions of Senators

Senator Works of California believes congress undoubtedly has the power to exclude from interstate commerce any product of underpaid labor.

"I am deeply interested in the revelations of Chicago conditions," he said recently. "Sooner or later we must establish machinery to bring about a minimum wage for women, both by state and national legislation. I think the federal government has the power to reach the evil under the commerce clause of the constitution."

Senator Borah of Idaho, chairman of the senate committee on education and labor, favors a minimum wage for women, but believes legislation of this kind is a function of local self-government embodied in the individual states. He contends federal legislation could apply only to the District of Columbia, and the interstate carriers.

The exclusion of the products of underpaid labor, he declares, would be a perversion of the commerce clause, unless the nation is ready to accept John Marshall's

view that the regulation of interstate commerce is limited only by the popular wish, as interpreted by congress.

Senator Borah took issue with the statements of Chicago employers that they would be at a disadvantage under a state minimum wage law unless such law were uniform throughout the country.

"As a matter of fact, I think the employers of any state would find a minimum wage an advantage, even if other states did not follow suit," he said. "The English employers found the eight-hour day resulted in more and better work, so they did not suffer from competition with employers who had not accepted the limitation."

### Preparing a Bill

Representative Peters of Massachusetts, author of the bill establishing an eight-hour day for women in the District of Columbia, said in March that he intended to introduce a minimum wage law for women when the special session of the 63rd Congress convened in April.

"Anybody knows a girl trying to support herself on \$4 or \$5 a week cannot keep body and soul together unless she asks favors outside," he said. "The testimony brought out in Chicago shows this is true. The bedrock minimum wage should not be less than \$6."

Mrs. Champ Clark, wife of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, expressed the opinion that the testimony in Chicago can be duplicated in most American large cities.

"No girl can dress and support herself and mingle properly with her fellow beings on \$4 or \$5 a week," she said. "It is time the government gave its attention to the solution of this problem."

### Wage Bill For New York

Provisions for a "minimum wage scale" are contained in a bill which members of the Progressive party introduced in the legislature of the state of New York March 17.

Former Senator Fredrick M. Davenport, chairman of the Progressive party legislative committee, said of the bill:

"The measure will provide for a state minimum wage board of five members. The board will be authorized to appoint local wage boards for any industry or locality where wages seem below the living standard. The local board will be empowered to investigate, recommend, and report to the state board, which, after a public hearing, could approve, modify, or set aside the recommendations of the local boards.

"The state board also will be authorized to issue to apprentices and persons handicapped by age or any mental or physical defect special permits or licenses for employment at less than the minimum rate."

Similar measures are now (April, 1913) pending in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, Ohio, and Illinois. The year 1913, therefore, bids fair to be distinguished by a wave of minimum wage legislation in the interest of the working woman.

## Chapter IV

### LOW WAGES AND IMMORALITY

#### The Labor Bureau Report

The report of the United States Bureau of Labor on the relation between low wages and immorality, which has been studied by the Illinois Senate Vice Commission, is, perhaps, the most important contribution to the literature extant upon the subject of immorality, its causes and cures, and is of particular interest in the present inquiry.

The principal reasons girls go wrong, according to the report, are:

1. Unfortunate early influences.
2. Defective mentality.
3. Misplaced affection.
4. Lack of innocent amusements.
5. The temptations lurking in the dance halls and the cheap theaters.
6. Lack of proper instruction in sex physiology and hygiene.
7. Character of the home.
8. Passive neglect by parents.
9. Crowding in tenements.

"Do wages play no part in this matter of moral evil?" says the report. "The consensus of opinion was that as a direct and immediate cause of going wrong they

were almost a negligible factor, that indirectly their influence was marked and disastrous.

"In the whole inquiry only one case was found in which the workers dealing with the girl felt that she had been driven into wrong because she could not live upon the wages she could earn. Four other cases were found in which the fall was directly attributable to poverty, but in these cases the difficulty was due not to low wages but to no wages at all.

### Promote Immoral Life

"It must be observed that this relates only to the initial wrong step, not to becoming a habitual wrongdoer after the first error has been made. It was generally agreed that while it is the rarest of things for a girl to enter upon an immoral life directly through want, yet when she has once gone wrong through thoughtlessness or affection or from any other cause, then low wages or irregular or insufficient wages are strongly effective in deciding her to adopt a life of promiscuous immorality or in impelling her to drift into such a life without any definite decision.

"When the question was shifted to the indirect effect of low wages and poverty the answer was very different. The girls were living at home in so many cases that the discussion necessarily dealt rather with the family income than with the girl's own immediate wages. Poverty, whether it be the result of a low family income or of insufficient wages for a girl living for herself, touches the question of immorality in many ways.

### Poverty Found Danger

"Poverty decides the girl's companionships, her amusements, her ability to gratify without danger her natural and reasonable tastes, her very capacity for resistance to temptation. Its physical effects open the way to moral dangers. It means overcrowding and bad sanitary conditions and undernutrition or malnutrition and insufficient or unsuitable clothing."

In its inquiry the bureau of labor visited a number of rescue homes, refuges and asylums and interviewed a number of social workers whose duties brought them into contact with the question of immorality among women. It was not imagined that by these means a comprehensive knowledge of the situation could be gained, but it was felt by the investigators that an examination of opinions of persons having practical first-hand acquaintance with the subject would at least have indicative value.

### Makes Study Of Boston

To make the inquiry systematic, immoral women were put into four groups, ranging from those who have not made a trade of vice to the professionally immoral class. In inquiring into the latter class the bureau obtained studies of 100 women living habitually immoral lives in Boston.

The report says: "Among this whole group of 100 taken from the women who have made a financial success of immorality, occupational influences seem to have been almost nil. In sixteen cases a connection would be traced, but in all but five the relations were merely incidental not causal. Want seems to have played a very small part in leading women astray, but to have had consider-



able influence in keeping them in the wrong path when once the start had been made.

"About one-fifth of the number had been betrayed and deserted and might very probably have been saved to a moral life had help been at hand in their hour of need. They do not represent the strongest type of womanhood, but they did not become immoral women from choice.

### Parentage Strong Factor

"A slightly larger number came from homes which made virtuous living practically impossible. Some of these are merely weak, more are actively vicious, but all are the products of their parentage and environment.

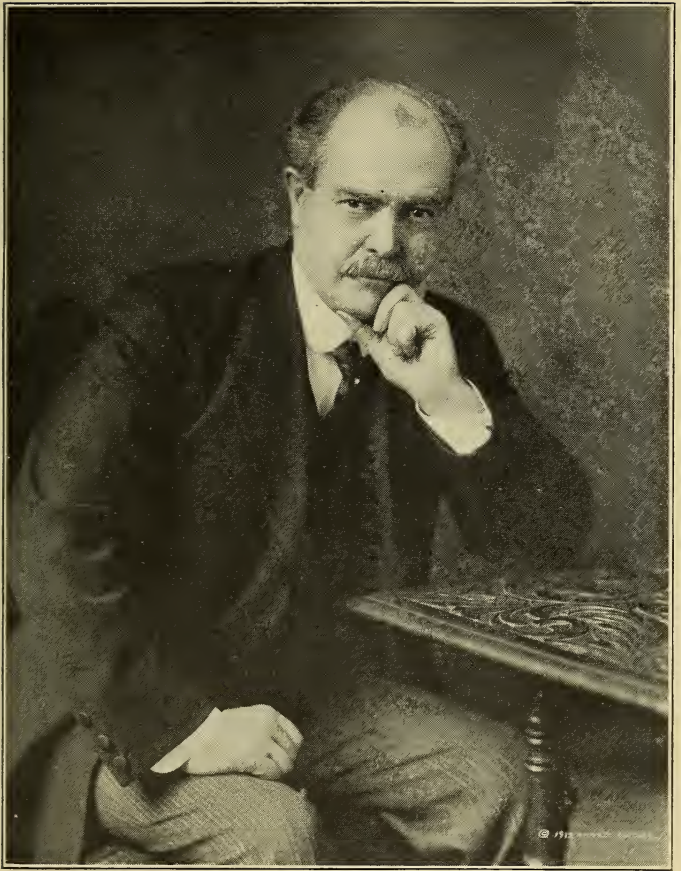
"Of the remainder, a few were moral perverts, who chose to go wrong in spite of excellent opportunities for going right, but the most were weak or vain or fond of excitement or indolent or easily influenced or had a taste for drinking, and had no strength in themselves to resist outside allurements. Their virtue or their vice would always be largely a matter of circumstance.

"Principally these studies seem to indicate that these women, the more intelligent class of female wrongdoers, go wrong because of causes operative long before they enter the industrial world. Their downfall is due to moral causes, to their inheritance and early training, or to lack of training. Their entrance into the industrial world was not responsible for the existence of their unfortunate tendencies, and in the majority of cases it did not even furnish the occasion for their manifestation."

### Wage Conditions Studied

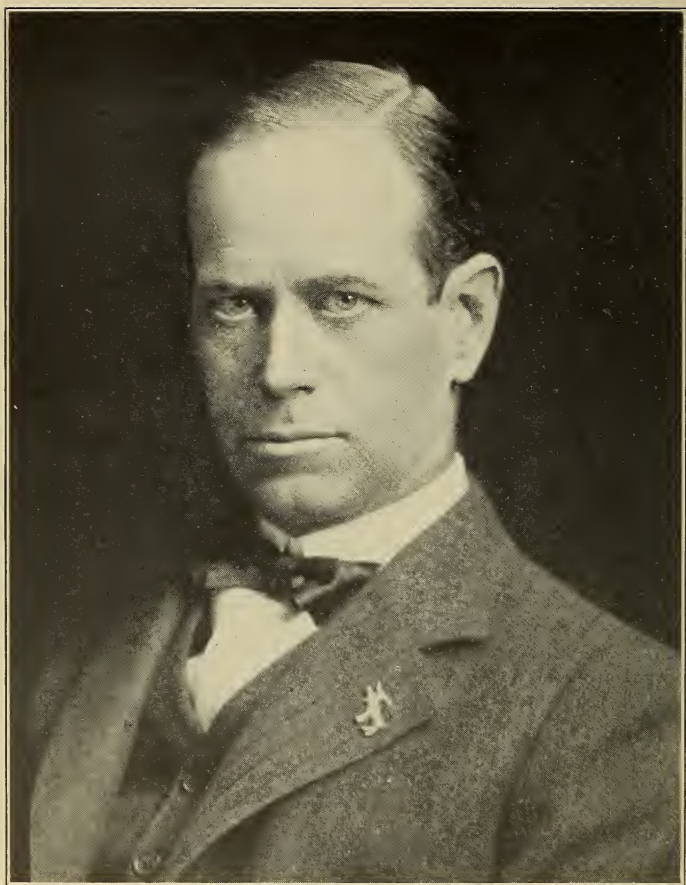
As to the effect of low wages in determining the moral





GOVERNOR EDWARD F. DUNNE  
of Illinois.

Under His Administration the Illinois Vice Commission Came Into  
Being. He Supports the Minimum Wage Idea.



HON. MEDILL McCORMICK

Progressive Representative in the Illinois Legislature who has strongly advocated the minimum wage for Women.

delinquency of the women studied, the report gives these statistics:

"Neither do low wages nor want appear as conspicuously as might have been expected. Those who had been waitresses received nominal wages ranging from \$4 to \$7 a week, but as board was always given in addition, and as tips were received ranging in value from \$2 to \$8 a week, the real wages were considerably in excess of the nominal. The factory workers earned from \$6 to \$12 a week and in every case were living at home. The saleswomen received from \$5 to \$10 a week, the average being \$7.15.

"Want is a different matter from low wages, and is more effective among those who have not been self-supporting than among the workers. In the whole hundred cases there are six in which the downfall is ascribed to this cause."

### **Tells New York Conditions**

In investigating another group, including women who occasionally take to the trade of the streets, a study was made of thirty offenders from the redlight district of New York.

The reasons assigned for their lapse are stated in the report as follows:

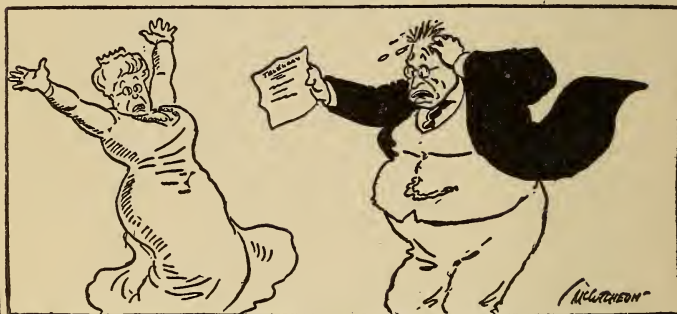
"In looking over the records of this group one is struck by the incidental character of their wrongdoing. Apparently they are simply unskilled girls, with little knowledge of how to do anything well. Their work brings them small returns, and they are deprived of many of the normal pleasures of their age."

## FIVE DOLLARS A WEEK FOR GIRLS.

[Copyright: 1918: By John T. McQuinn.]



Mr. Bullion hiring a young woman.



Mr. Bullion hearing that his favorite daughter, who is traveling, is stranded in a strange city with only five dollars.

—Chicago Tribune

## Chapter V

### THE ILLINOIS INVESTIGATION

#### First Session, February 28

At the beginning of the Illinois investigation the Commission appointed by the State Senate met at the LaSalle Hotel, Chicago. The first public session was held on Friday, February 28, 1913, with Lieutenant Governor O'Hara in the chair. The other members present were Senators Niels Juul of Chicago, F. Jeff Tossey of Toledo, and Edmond Beall, the "stork mayor" of Alton. Senator D. T. Woodard of Benton was unavoidably absent. Other legislators in attendance were Senator John Dailey of Peoria and Representatives Frederick B. Roos of Forest Park and George A. Miller of Oak Park.

The following statement made by the Chairman indicated the course of procedure that had been agreed upon:

"From the outset the commissioners have realized the tremendous responsibility they were assuming, and to safeguard themselves against the slightest suspicion from the public several details of procedure were agreed on.

"First—That all sessions—where the evidence was of an important nature—be made public.



"Second—That all members of the General Assembly should be invited to attend any and all sessions.

"Third—That the interrogation of witnesses should not be confined to members of the Commission, but that any member of either house of the legislature be privileged to ask any questions within the scope of the inquiry.

"Under this arrangement it was made impossible for any member, or the Commission as a whole, to give immunity to any witness."

As the Commission was seeking the source of the "white slave" traffic, the inquiry opened with the narratives of several of those who had fallen and others who were rescued and a condensation of the testimony is remarkable.

Here are some of the deductions reached through the day's testimony:

#### **Causes for Downfall**

1. Low wages, especially in stores and factories.
2. Indifference of step-parents.
3. Working girls' desire to dress as well as daughters of the wealthy.
4. Loneliness.
5. Promises of marriage.

#### **Work of Rescue**

1. Wealthy women of Chicago not only support reclamation homes but take fallen girls into their homes.
2. Ninety per cent of rescued girls are permanently saved.

#### **Proposed Remedies**

1. The whipping-post for "white slavers."
2. A bill now before the Illinois legislature providing for a minimum wage for women of \$12.



In response to a request from the girl witnesses the Commission decided to accept initials rather than names, the latter to be furnished only where prosecution of those responsible for their downfall was feasible. A number of the stories related had already been heard by a federal grand jury.

### Tells a Remarkable Story

The most remarkable case brought out and the one that made the greatest impression on the Commissioners, was that of a small French-Canadian girl 15 years old, recorded as E. T. She had been ruined by a family friend, an Italian aged 20, under promise of marriage. She unquestioningly gave him all her earnings, yet he beat her almost daily because the sum was not large enough to please him. Finally she was rescued and her seducer was put in jail.

"The gallows would be better than the whipping-post for that man," commented Chairman O'Hara at the completion of the girl's story.

The diminutive size of the girl, the youthful coloring and beauty which she had not lost, and above all, her naiveté, made "E. T." easily the feature of the day's chronicle of horror.

"I was born in Montreal and have been in Chicago eight years," she said in answer to questions. "It was on Oct. 16 that E. N.—he is 20—took me to South Bend, Ind. He beat me because I wouldn't hustle for him so he put me in a house there. I gave him \$35 in two weeks and then he was chased out of town by the Black Hand."

"How do you know it was the Black Hand?" asked the incredulous legislators.

"He told me so," said the witness, "and I saw him sign a paper saying he would give them money in three days or leave town. He couldn't raise the money and we came back to Chicago, November 14. He got a room for me on Wabash avenue, but we lived on State street. We were here only three days when the government men took me away."

"How much of the money you got did you give him?" asked Senator Juul.

"O, he got it all," responded the girl.

"Did he abuse you?"

"Yes; whenever there wasn't any money. That was nearly every day," she added, with a wan smile.

### **Sold by Her Husband**

Another witness was a victim who sold herself to support a husband. The husband first opposed and later acted as manager of his wife's shame. He had been sent to jail, charged with violating the Mann act.

"R. H." is now 19 years of age, repentant and still pretty. A schoolmate in Erie, Pa., she said, caused her downfall. Later she went to Detroit, where she lived with the man now her husband. They removed to Cleveland and there she was taken ill. The man paid her hospital expenses and besought her to marry him. She did so, though she confessed she did not love him. They removed to Buffalo and her husband was out of work and they were in need. Without saying anything to him she sought revenue from the street. When the husband discovered this he at first opposed it, but finally acquiesced. From that time on toleration became insistence.

The couple went to New York and then came to

Chicago in October, 1912. Again the man could not find work and again the wife sought the street for support for both. She met a man who took her to "Sim" Tuckhorn's, a notorious resort on Quincy street, for a drink. Through him she met the manager of the place, J— W—. The story of the division of her revenue astounded the legislators.

"I did not pay the manager anything," said the girl. "but we understood we must take all men to the Hotel P——, on South Fifth avenue. We were not allowed to order a drink at Tuckhorn's that cost less than 20 cents, such as creme de menthe, and we tried to get the men to buy wine. If a man was worth \$5 to me I had to give a dollar to the waiter who introduced him."

"Did your husband try to work?" Senator Juul asked.

"No; he said I was making too much money and he didn't have to work," replied the girl, adding that the only money she gave him was sufficient for their room rent—also at the Hotel P———and his meals. That satisfied him.

### Widow Escapes Trap

A widow of about 30, who has two sons of 11 and 6 years, next told how she had foiled an attempt to place her in a disorderly house. Incidentally she told of an unknown policeman who had found shelter for her in a police station and later with the New Future Association. She was the only witness of the day who had escaped the "slavers" unscathed.

This woman, Mrs. E——, lived at Water Valley, Miss., where she owned her home. There she met the man in the case, and on his promise of marriage she sold her prop-

erty and with her sons came to Chicago Jan. 18 of this year. He placed them in a house on South Wabash avenue, despite her comments on the neighborhood. Then he disappeared. Women around the house and the noise of two drinking parties convinced her she should leave, and her resolution was strengthened when a man in the house forced himself on her and the landlady told her "how to get diamonds easy."

Taking her children, she fled to the street a few days later and met the friendly policeman. Since then she had worked in restaurants and bakeries and intends to put her children in boarding school so she can earn the living for all. The Commission voted to send a letter of thanks to the policeman for saving this mother.

### Meets Tempter at Dance

"I didn't have the nerve; it was not the life for me," was the explanation of her escape given by J. F., a pretty Canadian girl of 19. She is now working in a downtown office.

This girl had been a waitress and had been sent to Chicago by her Canadian employers. At a dance given at the Dearborn club on North Clark street she met her tempter, a barber, and yielded. Within two days he attempted to put her in a house on Jefferson street, Gary, Ind. Her party consisted of two men and two women. The girl knew the fate she faced, but had been tempted by promises of \$50 to \$75 a week. The other woman warned her against the place, but praised the life, she said, and the commissioners were inclined to believe "white slaving" embraces female decoys. On their arrival at Gary the keen-witted landlady saw the girl's reluctance and dismissed her, saying she "was not the girl for the business."

### **Tells of Rescue Work**

There was no question of the existence of white slavery in the mind of Mrs. Susan B. Adams, head of the Chicago Girls' Home and Rescue Mission.

"Our home originally was the Pacific Rescue Mission on Federal street," said she, "but we have moved nearer the levee. The place, which can accommodate twenty-five girls at a time, is financed by wealthy Chicago women. We find plenty of these women are willing to place these rescued girls in their own households. We place nearly all the girls and they report to us once a week.

"Ninety per cent of those we rescue eventually are saved. They are all young girls, mostly first offenders. In the last six years I have handled between 600 and 700 of these cases, and I think my average is correct. All they need is just one chance—sometimes two.

"The cause of their fall? Well, step-parents entered into many cases, especially during the last year."

### **Approves Whipping-Post**

The Rev. Alice Phillips Aldrich, a regularly ordained Congregational minister and a worker with the Chicago Law and Order League, took a different view of the causes of girls' downfall.

"They want to wear diamonds and fine clothes," she said. "The average working girl wants to dress as well as the millionaire's daughter.

"I know of one girl who was sold three times in Chicago," concluded the minister.

"What do you think of the whipping-post as punishment?" inquired Mr. O'Hara.

"Fine," said the witness with enthusiasm.

Low wages in stores and factories were given as the chief causes for white slavery by Mrs. Josephine Schell, superintendent of the New Future Association, 536 East Thirty-seventh street. Especially is this true, she said, when the girls could not live at home.

---

### SECOND SESSION, MARCH 1

At the second session of the Commission, Saturday, March 1, it was determined to subpoena the heads and active managers of the leading department and other stores and factories employing many women to tell the Commission the wages paid by them.

This was determined after several young women had said they were forced into lives of shame through inability to support themselves respectably and in moderate comfort on the salaries paid girl workers.

One girl, Chicago born and bred—had summed up the amount necessary for her decent maintenance as \$12 a week, divided as follows:

"A room costs \$2.50 a week, and board not less than \$5, and that is not extravagant living nowadays. Then there is daily car fare, clothes, and books, and other little comforts. Twelve dollars would be the least one could do it on."

### Orders Subpoenas for Employers.

"I think some of the men who operate these big stores and factories should tell us something about the conditions of the women who work for them, the salaries paid, and their ideas as to how a living could be obtained," observed Senator Juul.



"That is evidently the sense of the entire Commission," said Lieut.-Gov. Barratt O'Hara, "and the chairman will see that subpoenas are issued at once."

It was agreed that wage statistics would furnish valuable figures in support of the bill pending at Springfield for a minimum wage of \$12 a week to feminine workers.

### Support Minimum Wage Law

On motion of Senator Beall the Commission decided to order the appearance of the heads of leading department stores, factories, and mail order houses, not to exceed fifteen or twenty in number, by Friday, March 7, and then issued this statement:

From the testimony heard by the Commission at the sessions yesterday and today it appears one of the apparently vital causes of the industry of the "white slave" is the low wage paid to women workers.

The Commission, in executive session this afternoon, in view of this testimony, voted to postpone all examination of victims of the industry until full investigation has been made of the wage question. For this purpose the next meeting of the Commission was ordered called for Friday, March 7, at the Hotel La Salle, Chicago, at 10 a. m.

The Commission is deeply desirous that this meeting be attended by all members of the state senate and house of representatives who can so arrange their affairs as to be present. The request that all legislators endeavor to be present at this meeting is especially prompted by the fact that a bill is at present before the legislature establishing \$12 a week as a minimum wage for women workers in Illinois.

The Commission guarantees a full and fair hearing to all persons interested in this subject, and earnestly invites the co-operation of employers and employees alike.

### Woman Attacks \$12 Scale

Nearly every witness had strengthened the commissioners' belief that low wages form an important factor in their problem. So it was something of a shock when one witness, Miss Mary F. Balcomb, a mission worker and secretary of the Young People's Civic League, said she was not certain of the success of the bill placing \$12 as a minimum for Illinois women workers.

"The minimum wage proposition opens a big question," she said. "I think you will often find cases where a woman will not be worth that much. I say this knowing that \$12 a week is as little as a woman can support herself on."

"We think a woman is worth saving regardless of the cost," replied Chairman O'Hara.

Representative F. E. J. Lloyd asked if the economic question—the inability of a man to support a wife—did not enter into white slavery, and Miss Balcomb thought it a potent factor.

### Miss Brooks Charges Vice Ring

Miss Virginia Brooks, the reformer known as the "Joan of Arc" of West Hammond, Ill., was one of the witnesses at this session, and her recital of conditions in that town not only interested the commissioners, but also furnished them many names of divekeepers and others in the same business.

Miss Brooks charged the existence of a vice "ring" that operated in girls between West Hammond, Ill., and East Chicago, Indiana Harbor, Gary, and Hammond, Ind. She could not "see" the whipping-post as a remedy for "slaving" conditions, but believed enforcement of the law would be ample and more efficacious.

"I believe a man and woman of West Hammond are ringleaders in this traffic," declared Miss Brooks. "The woman is constantly seen on trains and cars between West Hammond and other points with young girls. It is largely interstate traffic, and, of course, beyond our reach, unless we can prove force used in the movement from state to state."

The witness summed up the principal causes of girls in her neighborhood going wrong as two in number—improper conditions at home and low wages.

"The girls are mostly Poles," she said, "and are members of large families. When young men call on them they do not want to entertain them in crowded sitting rooms or kitchens and so frequent dance halls.

"As to wages, I have learned that most of the girls in this vicinity, who work at a factory in Hammond, receive about \$4.50 weekly. I have understood the plant was non-union," she added in response to a question from Chairman O'Hara.

### Pandering in Chicago

An early witness of the day was a Russian, initialed R. H. F., 27 years old, who gave some startling approximate statistics as to pandering in Chicago. He had kept an ice cream parlor in the west side levee district, and once was arrested for pandering, two years ago. Though fined \$1,000 and one year in jail, he escaped through a flaw in the indictment. He also had figured as a lecturer on the white slave traffic in moving picture shows until stopped by the police.

He asserted there are 1,500 white panders in Chicago and 200 or 300 negroes, all living off the earnings of women,

but not engaged in their sale. He declined to assert that the police were the cause of the traffic in women, but as a remedy suggested that "the police be on the square and the almighty dollar be not handed around."

### From the Detention Home

Two girls from the State Detention Home at Geneva told their experiences. Both wept and asserted they had learned their lessons. The matron who accompanied them, Mrs. Anna Stevens, testified to their good conduct.

One of them, "A. O'N.," a native of Rockford, had married at 15 and her parents had the ceremony annulled because of the character of the husband. She was sent to Geneva, was later released, and then drifted to Chicago and to a North Clark street dance hall known as the Dearborn. She met two Italians who took her to a house on Jefferson street, Gary, Ind. One of the men received \$15 on delivery, in her presence, she said, and collected all her earnings. She had no money or clothes with which to escape.

"I suppose I could have gone to the Gary police," said the girl tearfully, "but they don't pay much attention to those things out there."

The girls, she said, were mostly foreigners, but those who ran the houses were almost invariably Jews.

### Blames Theatrical Agencies

Secretary Arthur Burrage Farwell of the Chicago Law and Order League blamed theatrical agencies for many of the conditions and put in a plea for sex education in the public schools, and a law compelling the reporting of all contagious diseases, as remedies for the future. He did

not think poverty the basic principle of white slavery, but rather dance halls with liquor attachments.

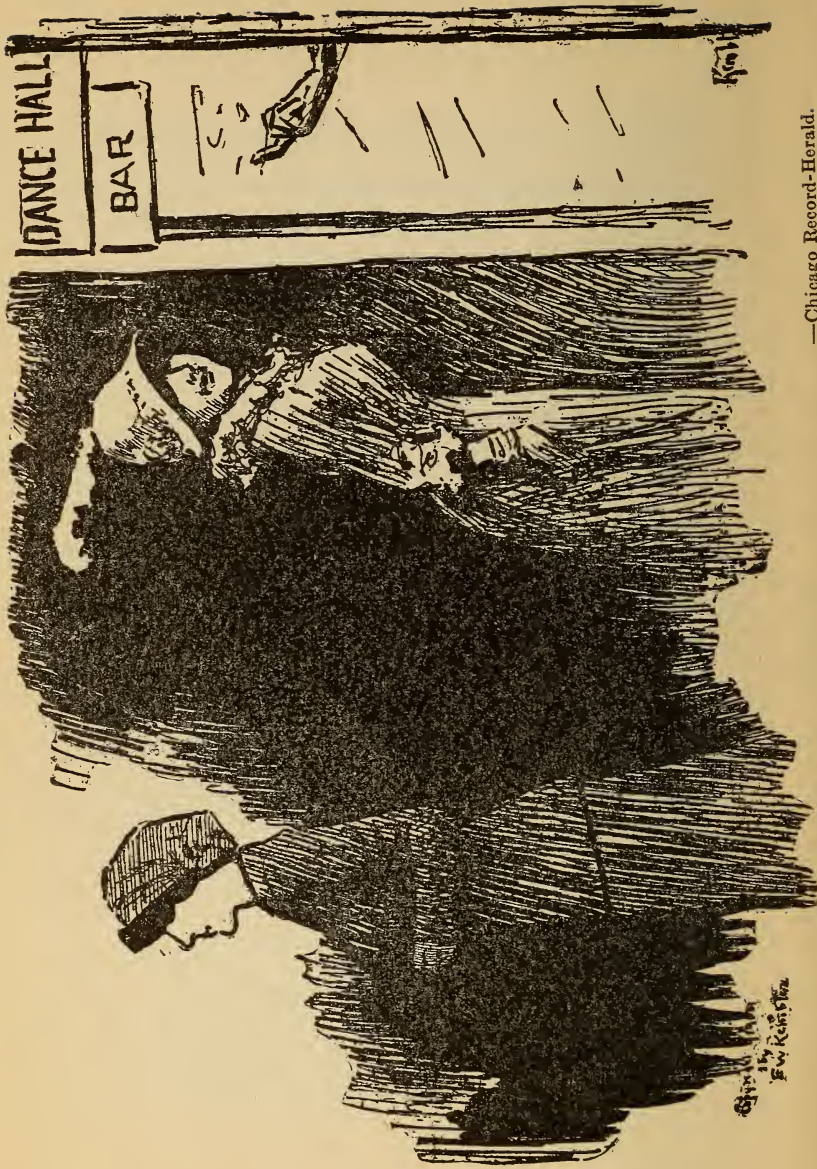
"In the past the state has taken care of its wrecks," he said. "Now, why not let it save its citizens from wreckage?"

An attack on existing Juvenile Court methods was made by William H. Dumm of Brookfield, Ill., who charged that children were legally torn from poor parents and hawked about by alleged uplift societies. In the case of girls, he insisted, this method contributed greatly to delinquency and eventually to white slavery.

The above preliminary testimony is reproduced to show the steps that led up to the investigation of the wage problem as all-important.



NOT ALWAYS A QUESTION OF WAGES



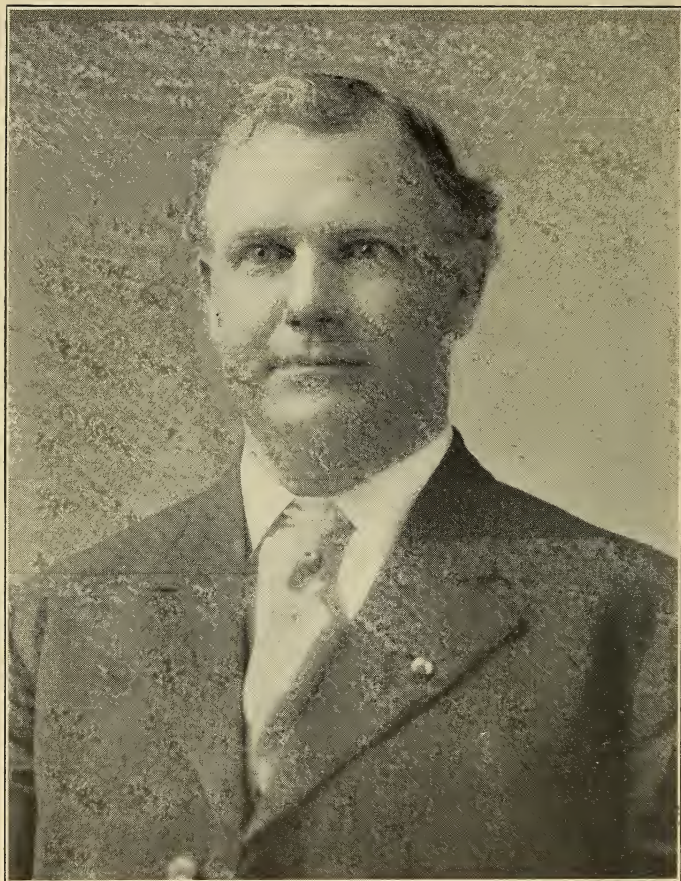
Spind  
by  
F.W. Kenton





HON. BARRATT O'HARA

Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois and Chairman of the State Senatorial Commission that has aroused Public Interest, as never before, in the question of a Living Wage for Women.



HON. EARL BREWER

Governor of Mississippi

Who supports the Idea of a Minimum Wage Commensurate  
with Decent Living.

## Chapter VI

### DATA GIVEN BY EMPLOYERS

In order that the testimony given before the Illinois Vice Commission by Chicago employers of women may be readily compared and analyzed, a synopsis of their evidence on March 7 and 8, 1913, is given below. Further details of their statements on the witness stand are presented in following chapters.

#### Summary of Evidence

**JULIUS ROSENWALD**, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.:

This mail order firm employs 4,782 women, at an average wage of \$9.12 weekly.

The minimum weekly wage scale is: \$5 juvenile, \$7 intermediate, and \$8 adult. The highest wage, outside department heads, is \$35, and but twenty-three women receive \$21 and over. Some women receive \$2,100 to \$3000.

Those receiving less than \$8 number 1,465, of whom 119, between 15 and 16½ years of age, receive \$5 for first three months, then \$5.50.

There is practically no connection, in Mr. Rosenwald's view, between the low wages and immorality. Home environment or lack of it, is the chief cause of women's

downfall, and low wages is "the easiest thing to blame it on."

For a girl who lives at home \$5 a week is sufficient. A girl of 21 years can live on \$8 a week and remain honest.

Sears, Roebuck & Co.'s profits in 1911 were approximately \$7,000,000. The company could have applied \$2,000,000 on increased salaries and still have paid 7 per cent interest on preferred and common stock. At the close of the fiscal year of 1912 there was a surplus of \$12,000,000. Company capitalized at \$50,000,000 and pays about 16 per cent.

About 1,000 women employees have savings accounts and a "goodly number" are stockholders in the company.

Heard company's employment manager testify that an investigation two years ago had determined \$8 as the weekly minimum wage sufficient to keep a woman decently but could not definitely recall having heard of it until a few days before.

Girls hired at \$8, or not at all, if dependent on own efforts.

**EDWIN F. MANDEL, president Mandel Brothers:**

The store employs 1,866 women at an average wage of \$9.86—not including buyers, heads of departments, and assistants. The highest wage is \$35 weekly.

Eight girls between 14 and 15 receive \$3 to \$5, all living at home. Fifty-two get \$4 to \$5 and at 16 years of age are automatically raised to \$6.

A living wage, if the girl lives at home, is a minimum of \$6; if dependent on salary, \$9.

Never heard of floorwalkers being "white slave" agents or attempting girls' ruin, or of asking candidates

if they hadn't a "gentleman friend" to make up salary deficit. Would welcome such complaints and investigate them.

Believes \$12 too high for legal minimum wage. Prefers own system and would start saleswomen at \$7.50.

**JAMES SIMPSON, vice-president Marshall Field & Co.:**

The store employs 4,222 girls and women regularly in the retail department at eight hours a day, and 440 others at shorter hours, such as waitresses and those who relieve regulars at lunch hours.

None receives less than \$5, except irregulars, who make at least \$4.

The full average wage is \$10.76, and the average of the 1,895 who sell merchandise (exclusive of department heads) is \$12.33.

Has heard that \$8 is lowest wage a woman living out of home should receive, and admitted \$5 would not clothe, feed, and house.

Believes infinitesimal percentage of women "go wrong" for monetary reasons.

A state minimum wage law would make it impossible for Illinois to compete with other states. A national law would be better.

Declined to state net profits, dividends, value of buildings or stock of Marshall Field & Co., until legally advised.

Later agreed that Commission might examine the company's books. Admitted capital stock to be \$6,000,000.

This firm is well able to afford and can and will pay any minimum wage adopted by Illinois or the United States, but would prefer not to make its profits public.



First said the public might have to bear increased cost to offset increased wages, and later admitted the profits were sufficient to pay a minimum wage of \$12 and make a profit without raising the price of goods.

**ROY M. SHAYNE, president John T. Shayne & Co.:**

This firm employs eight women at wages ranging from \$8 to \$25.

He believes the minimum living wage would be \$8 or \$9.

Thought wages would have some effect on a woman's morals.

**EDWARD HILLMAN, general manager of Hillman's Department Store:**

The store employs 817 women at an average weekly wage, not including department heads, of \$8.71. In addition to this there was a commission system, he said, by which all girls might raise their wages by industry. For instance, a girl paid \$8 a week would be expected to sell \$160 worth of goods. On all over that amount she sold she would be paid a commission of 2½ per cent.

He cited the following as the lowest paid girls: Forty-six get \$5, twenty-four get \$4, twenty-three get \$3.50 and six get \$3. They were errand girls, he said. All had parents, their applications said, but Mr. Hillman promised to put an investigator at work at once to look up all the low-wage girls and see what their real home conditions were. He added that the firm would keep up that practice hereafter; that he considered it a good idea.

He said low wages might or might not have something to do with the morality of working girls. He believed women starve before selling their virtue.



**WILLIAM C. THORNE, vice-president Montgomery Ward & Co.:**

Profits for last year were \$2,370,000. Employs 1,973 women. Eliminating beginners, 1,140 receive an average of \$9.25. Eliminating those receiving \$15 and over, 1,098 receive an average of \$8.80. Lowest wage is \$5 for beginners and \$8 is minimum for girl "adrift," or self-supporting. Beginners are between 14 and 15 years old, and number 233, all living with parents or guardians. Contended a \$5 wage was not placing a burden on parents, but relieving them to that extent. Minimum wage would affect hundreds of Illinois factories and cause their removal to Wisconsin and Indiana, as they couldn't compete with the east. Predicted half the women workers in Illinois, including his plant, would be out of work, and men would take their places. Doubted if the girl witnesses had told the Commission all of their stories regarding low wages and immorality. Asserted his firm did more for employees than any firm in state.

**JOHN T. PIRIE, JR., partner in Carson Pirie Scott & Co.:**

Employs 2,004 women, receiving an average of about \$10, excluding heads of departments, etc. Lowest wages are to waitresses and errand girls, \$4. Slight connection between wages and moral standard. Conscience would hurt if he knew that one of his employees had fallen because she was not getting a living wage. Could have had a minimum wage of \$12 and made a profit.

**EDWARD J. LEHMANN, vice-president The Fair:**

Declined to tell earnings as being "of no interest to the

public to know." Declined to answer yes or no—when asked if the State street merchants had arranged not to tell their profits to the commission. Employs 1,750 women, of whom 55 per cent are juveniles under 16 and getting \$3 to \$4.50, and 1,131 receive less than \$8. Could make \$8 the minimum and pay 6 per cent on investment if men were not also increased. No connection between wages and immorality or honesty. A good girl receiving \$4 is as well fortified as one receiving \$8.

**HENRY C. SCHWAB**, vice-president and secretary  
Rothschild & Co.:

Employs 1,154 women, receiving as low as \$3. Ten per cent receive less than \$5. Admitted there had "been some little discussion" about the merchants not giving their profit totals. Denied he was competent to pass on minimum living wage, and was asked to bring some specific statistics.

**ALBERT ELLINGER**, merchandise manager Boston  
Store:

Admitted profits to be within range of \$1,000,000 yearly. Employs 1,165 women at wages ranging from \$3 to \$5,000. Thinks this firm pays highest wages to women of any department store in the United States. Said his employees—not the \$5,000 type—had \$1,000,000 in savings banks.

**GEORGE LYTTON**, vice-president and treasurer The  
Hub, Henry C. Lytton & Sons:

Employs 175 women with minimum wage of \$6.50 paid to fifty-four. Has considered for some time making the minimum \$8. Firm has system whereby each employee

gets a percentage on annual salary, starting at 2 per cent and increasing at rate of one-half and 1 per cent for additional years. Cited instance of cashier at \$25 a week who received \$500 last Christmas. Could pay a minimum of \$2 a day and make a profit without raising prices and believed any similar concern could do the same. Would have to consult firm members before volunteering minimum of \$8 weekly.

**JOSEPH BASCH, second vice president Siegel, Cooper & Co.:**

Employs 1,250 women at an average of \$8.56. Wages range from \$3.50 for beginners to \$29 for all except department heads, buyers, etc. Estimated that 500 employees received less than the general average of \$8.56. Did not believe in any connection between wages and vice, and termed immorality "a state of mind." When told 90 per cent of girl witnesses ascribed downfall to low wages, said they had "immoral minds." Approved minimum wage law if it made allowances for apprentices. Didn't believe firm would go bankrupt through \$12 minimum, but couldn't afford it so far as apprentices are concerned.

## **Chapter VII**

### **THE TESTIMONY IN DETAIL**

#### **Third Session, March 7**

Mr. Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., took the stand at the opening of the morning session, Friday, March 7, and was examined by Lieut. Gov. O'Hara after being sworn by Senator Juul. He had with him a typewritten memorandum of his pay roll statistics, to which he frequently referred in answering questions.

The witness said his authority in connection with Sears, Roebuck & Co., included the right to hire and discharge employees, but that he did not exercise it. The concern employed 4,732 women and girls during the week ending March 8, with an average wage of \$9.12.

The lowest wage paid the girls, the witness said, was to those under 16 years, for whom the minimum is \$5 for the first three months or less and \$5.50 after that. No woman, declared Mr. Rosenwald, laying emphasis on the word woman, receives as low as \$5. It might be possible that a girl in the employ of the concern got only \$4.50 a week, but the witness did not believe this condition existed.

#### **Says 119 Girls Get \$5 a Week**

The witness said there were 119 girls under 16½ receiving \$5 a week and 1,465 earning less than \$8 a week.

Practically all of the 1,465 are living with their parents. Mr. Rosenwald declared the concern made it a point not to hire girls not living at home at less than \$8 a week.

So far as the witness knew, no investigation was made immediately of the statements of an applicant for a position that she lived with her parents. These were verified later, he said.

At this point the witness was asked concerning his connection with the Chicago Vice Commission. He said he was a member and attended most of the sessions. He knew the committee made recommendations on the wage question, but could not tell what they were. He did not know if the wages of women had been increased as a result of the recommendation.

### Chance for Advancement

Turning again to the question of wages, Mr. Rosenwald said the pay of girl employees over 16½ years old ranged from \$8 to \$21 a week. Women who acted as department heads, he declared, get as high as \$3,000 a year.

It is entirely possible, the witness said, for a girl to enter the employ of Sears, Roebuck & Co., at \$5 a week and work up to become head of a department at \$3,000 a year.

Mr. Rosenwald was asked if Sears, Roebuck & Co., four years ago, made an investigation of women's wages. He said the concern had not, that he knew of. Then the witness referred the question to George H. Miller, an official of the company, who was sworn. Mr. Miller said a board of five members made an investigation; arrived at the conclusion \$8 was a living wage, and so reported.

Mr. Rosenwald said he knew nothing of that report

at the time, but had heard of it three or four days before. He declared the \$8 minimum was meant to apply only to girls "adrift"—not living at home.

### **Vice and Low Wages Distinct**

At this point Lieut. Gov. O'Hara asked this question:

"Now, Mr. Rosenwald, you are a public spirited citizen and a benefactor widely known; do you think low wages have anything at all to do with the immorality of women?"

"I would say there was practically no connection between low wages and prostitution," replied the witness.

Mr. Rosenwald said he was a director of the American Vigilance association until it was disbanded two or three weeks before. He did not recall knowing any William Burgess, and said he knew nothing of any letter sent the chairman of the senatorial committee on the stationery of the Vigilance association, suggesting the committee was on the wrong track and that wages had nothing to do with vice or crime.

"Do you believe 'self-preservation' is the first law of nature?" asked the lieutenant governor.

"Yes, I do," was the response.

### **Sees Crime and Want Linked**

"Do you believe that crime to any extent is caused by want?" was the next question.

"Yes."

"Do you think a girl who gets \$9 a week and finds it costs her \$10 for the actual necessities of life is as well qualified to resist the lure of a white slaver as a girl who gets \$12 a week and finds that only \$10 is actually necessary to live?"

"I don't believe there is any connection between wages



and prostitution. I believe most of the girls who come from the proper home environment and become prostitutes are just as likely to fall at \$8 up or \$8 down as \$10 up or \$10 down."

"Now, Mr. Rosenwald," asked Chairman O'Hara, "do you think it ever has happened that a girl surrendered the priceless treasure of her virtue because she was starving or her mother was starving or sick, or because of a crippled brother?"

"I don't believe one case has any connection with the other," replied Mr. Rosenwald. "A girl who gets \$10 a week is just as likely to use that as a subterfuge as a girl getting any other wage."

### Responsibility of Employer

"You think, then, that the employer who pays a girl less than a living wage has no moral responsibility in her downfall?"

"Not so far as the pay is concerned. There is no connection in my opinion," said Mr. Rosenwald.

Q.—What would you do if you found women in your employ could not decently exist on the wages they received? A.—I should raise their wages.

Q.—Do you think \$5 is enough for any girl to live on? A.—If she lives at home and contributes her \$5 to help support the family, yes. That is, if she is 16 or under. If she is not at home she could be honest and live on \$8 a week.

Q.—What were the profits of your concern for the last fiscal year? A.—I can't say, offhand.

Mr. Rosenwald then referred to a financial statement for 1911.

"The profits were something over \$7,000,000," he said.

Q.—Could you apply a generous portion of that profit to the increase of wages of your employees and still pay the stockholders a legitimate interest on the money invested?

A.—The question of interest is hardly applicable. The value of the shares is not entirely represented by the capital invested.

### Could Use \$2,000,000 on Pay Roll

Q.—Could you take, say, \$2,000,000 of that profit to increase the wages of employees and still pay a fair dividend? A.—I could take \$2,000,000 to increase wages and still pay some dividends.

Q.—What dividend is your company paying now? A.—Seven per cent on all common and preferred stock.

Mr. Rosenwald said the surplus of the company at the end of 1912 was "something like \$12,000,000."

Q.—If after investigating this matter you reach the conclusion that the women and girls in your employ are not receiving enough to live on decently, will you take money from the surplus fund to increase their wages?

A.—We increase the pay of employees as we believe to be fair and just and we shall continue to do so.

Q.—Do you consider that you should be the only judge of what is fair? Do you think the state should have any interest in aiding you in arriving at what is fair? (These questions were interjected by State Senator Juul.) A.—I should try and meet the views of the state as nearly as competition would permit.

Q.—Mr. Rosenwald, what is your personal income? A.—I should rather not answer that.

Q.—Could you live on \$8 a week? A.—That would be pretty hard to tell without trying.

Q.—Have you ever tried? A.—No.

**Never Heard of "Drivers"**

Q.—Have you ever heard the term "drivers" used among your employees? A.—Not that I recall.

Q.—What title do you give to the men and women who superintend the work of your women employees and see that they are kept busy? A.—I don't know that we have any such.

Q.—What do the girls in your employ call those in charge of them? A.—Not being a girl I couldn't tell you.

Mr. Rosenwald said the girls under 16 years in his employ worked on an average eight hours a day, and those over that age averaged eight and three-quarter hours a day. He said the maximum for any girl employee was nine and a quarter hours a day—well within the ten hour law, he pointed out.

Mr. O'Hara read from an anonymous letter in which it was declared that many girls employed by Sears, Roebuck & Co. were forced to work twelve hours a day—that the company had the girls report at 6 a. m., but that their time cards show 8 a. m. as the beginning time.

"Is that true?" Mr. O'Hara asked.

"It is not true to the best of my knowledge and belief," was the reply.

At this point Mr. Rosenwald said that Sears, Roebuck & Co. would welcome the members of the committee if they desired to visit the company's place of business and question employees.

Q.—You are familiar with all the departments of your business, are you not? A.—Yes.

Q.—Is there a department where fine linens or fine cloths are handled, where the windows are kept closed?

A.—I would say to the best of my knowledge that there is no such rule. On the contrary, our plant has been taken as the standard of ventilation by the health department.

Q.—Would you say, Mr. Rosenwald, that the girl living at home could procure the necessary clothing, food, carfare and other necessities on \$5? A.—If she lives at home I should say she could.

Q.—Suppose the wage of a father is \$12 and the girl is making \$5, do you think that she could receive the necessities of life aside from food? A.—If living at home this would add very materially to her father's income.

"I know that women who are not living at home get good room and board for \$3.50 and \$4," said Mr. Rosenwald in answer to another question.

Q.—Do you have these girls followed to their homes to see if the conditions are all right? A.—No, we have no means of knowing what the home conditions are.

### Profits of Future Unknown

Q.—Wouldn't it be possible for a concern the size of yours to give 100 girls or women an increase of \$5 a week which would be \$26,000, or 1,000 girls an increase of \$5 a week, which would be \$260,000 annually? A.—We have nothing to assure us that the profits of the concern will continue as large.

Mr. Rosenwald explained that if the state of Illinois passed a minimum wage law, while such a law did not exist in other states, the business interests of Illinois would be materially depressed.

In concluding his testimony at the morning session he said in answer to a question:

"I have thought I made myself very plain and I have

given this question a great deal of study. I think that home environment plays a large part in the question of vice. The wage question is the easiest and most natural thing for the girl to blame.

### **Ideals Among Poor High**

"As my honest opinion, and I am not trying to minimize the necessity for paying girls fair wages, I do not think that the wage question and the vice question hinge materially on one another. I should say there are respectable people of high ideals among the poor who are just as moral and in many cases more so, than the wealthier class. As far as our policy is concerned we do not fight any legislation that will help humanity and help our employees."

### **Girl Says "Drivers" Scolded**

E. B., a girl 17 years old, was then called to the witness stand and sat beside her former employer as she told of conditions at Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Q.—How old were you when you started to work for Sears, Roebuck & Co? A.—Fourteen years and 7 months.

Q.—Did you give your correct age? A.—I did.

Q.—How were the girls treated? A.—They were scolded and many of them cried.

Q.—What was the person called who scolded? A.—We called them all kinds of names.

Q.—Was the person who scolded called the "driver?" A.—Yes.

Q.—How many times did you see girls of tender years called before this so-called driver? A.—At least three times a week.

Q.—The girls were often to blame, were they not? A.—The reason was very often an attempt to get too much work out of the girls.

Q.—What hours did you work? A.—I worked from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m., three days in the week and had forty minutes for dinner.

Q.—Do you live with your parents? A.—Yes.

Q.—Are you working now? A.—Yes, for the Chicago Telephone Company. I am receiving \$9 a week and I get a raise every three months.

### Left Because of Scolding

Q.—Tell the Commission in your own way the scene at these scoldings. A.—I left there because of one of these scoldings. I had worked hard all day and it was five minutes before quitting time. I was called up to the desk of the forelady and she pounded on her desk because I had made two errors during the day. Every girl makes mistakes. I tried not to make mistakes. I was told that I would have to stop making errors or they would get somebody else in the department. All this time the forelady was pounding on the table. The next day I and another girl left.

### Another Tells of Harsh Words

E. H., another former employee of the company, then took the witness stand and was questioned by Mr. O'Hara.

Q.—Why did you leave your employment? A.—Because I got a better position.

Q.—Did you ever hear any harsh words spoken to girls of tender years? A.—Yes. Girls were called to the forelady's desk. They had to turn out so much work a day. Every time the girls left that desk they were crying.



Q.—Were hands ever laid on the girls? A.—No, but I was threatened with the loss of my position.

Q.—Did you have to pay for drinking water? A.—There was some water which we could drink, but at times it had a queer taste. If we wanted purer water we had to pay 10 cents every two weeks.

Q.—How many of the girls were getting less than \$5? A.—We didn't talk salaries. I understood I was getting more than the ordinary girl.

#### Shunned Girls She Didn't Like

Q.—Were there any bad girls that you knew? A.—I stayed away from the girls I did not like.

Q.—What was the moral condition of most of the girls? A.—I don't know. I only associated with a couple of girls.

Q.—Do you know if any of the girls had elderly beaus? A.—No. They almost all had beaus.

Q.—Would you blame a girl who was receiving from \$5 to \$7 a week and supporting a widowed mother, who had been called up before this so-called "driver" and scolded until she wept, if she committed a crime or if she did worse than kill herself? A.—No, positively no.

"You see, Mr. Rosenwald, we have sought in this witness to make you familiar with the conditions in your own establishment," said the lieutenant governor, turning to the head of the mail order concern. "We want your cooperation in bettering conditions."

Mr. Rosenwald replied that the first witness mentioned conditions existing several years ago. Miss B. then said she had left the concern but seven months ago.

### Mr. Mandel Testifies

Mr. Edwin F. Mandel, president of Mandel Bros., Chicago, opened the afternoon session, assisted by his manager, P. J. Dunn, to whom he frequently referred. After he testified to the number of women employed and their wages as given in the summary in the preceding chapter, Chairman O'Hara took up the examination.

"How do you justify the payment of such low wages?" was asked.

"They are based on capability entirely," was the answer.

"Is your business on a paying basis?"

"I am not at liberty to answer."

Questioned about what constituted a "living wage," Mr. Mandel said all applicants signed a blank giving their estimate of necessary expenses, in addition to family particulars, and added: "The girls who are not receiving sufficient to live on come to us. There are many instances of such receiving an increase."

The witness admitted it would not be a serious handicap to the business to raise all girls to a minimum of \$6.

"Then why is it not done?" asked Chairman O'Hara.

"A little errand girl, just starting out, is not worth more," was the response.

### Wage No Factor in Immorality

Mr. Mandel told of social welfare workers employed by his firm and admitted as a proprietor feeling a responsibility for the future of his employees.

"Has the wage anything to do with the morality of a woman?" was the next question.

"I don't think so," was the response.

"Have you ever received complaints that floorwalkers if not white slave agents, are working to ruin girls for themselves?"

"I never heard of such a case."

"We have all heard of cases, Mr. Mandel, where girls applying for department store positions have been told they would receive \$4 or \$5 a week. When they said they could not live on that they were asked if they hadn't a 'gentleman friend.'"

Mr. Mandel and Mr. Dunn replied they had not heard of any such cases.

### Blames Moral Environment

"Do you believe moral environment rather than wages causes the downfall of so many girls?" Mr. Mandel was asked.

"Largely."

"You will admit the home environment depends largely on the money that goes to the upkeep?"

"Yes."

Commenting on the witness's statement that a girl's estimate of her expenses was part of her application, Chairman O'Hara said he thought the weakness lay in the girl, who would not tell all the truth in order to assure herself of a job.

Mr. Mandel said they took the applications at face value and did not investigate.

"Wouldn't you be willing to make an appropriation to investigate the girls' applications?" was asked.

"Yes," said the witness.

"And if they were not correct you would not hire them?"

"I didn't say that."

"If you found a girl could not live on less than \$12 weekly would you voluntarily establish a new scale?"

"I haven't the authority."

### **Believes \$9 a Living Wage**

"Is it possible for a woman to pay for her clothes, room, food, and car fare on what you offer?" asked Senator Juul.

"Yes, at \$9."

On Senator Juul's insistence Mr. Mandel took pencil and paper, and with many questionings made out a table of what expenditures he thought would be necessary for a woman each week. It finally resulted as follows:

Clothes, including shoes. . . . .	\$1.00
Laundry. . . . .	.25
Room and board. . . . .	4.00
Car fare. . . . .	.60
Lunch. . . . .	.70
Church. . . . .	.10
Sickness, dentist, and other emergencies. . . . .	1.25
Total. . . . .	<u>\$7.90</u>

"I wish I could make my wife believe that," exclaimed Senator Juul as he surveyed the total.

Mr. Mandel testified that employees were paid half time during sickness, averaged 317 working days annually, were not laid off after the holiday rush, and received two weeks' vacation at full pay.

### **Domestic Service as Recourse**

"If a woman cannot live on your wages, what would be the straightest road she would take to make up the difference?" inquired the senator.

"She ought to go into a home as a domestic rather than the other course," replied Mr. Mandel.

"Do you think low wages adds to the recruits to vice in Illinois?"

"No," replied the witness.

"In that employers and employees differ greatly," observed Senator Juul.

Mr. Mandel spoke of competition as being one reason for inability to increase wages, and his interrogator figured for a while and then asked:

"Would the payment of \$26,000 to lift some of these girls out of need prevent you from going ahead and competing with the other houses?"

"No."

#### Refers to Apprentice System

"Under the old system," said Mr. Juul, "the master never took an apprentice without giving him his bed and board, and often medical attendance, if he were ill. Times have changed, but does this condition still exist morally?"

"Yes."

Senator Beall spoke of the bill introduced by him in the senate providing for a minimum wage of \$2 a day for women and asked Mr. Mandel's opinion.

"It is too high," was the reply. "I recommend our system."

In reply to an inquiry by Senator Tossey, the witness said he employed selling and non-selling help. Pressed for a comparison between men and women workers, he said salesmen received about \$14 a week and porters \$12. In many instances the woman could not handle, physically, the goods salesmen were assigned to.

In closing Chairman O'Hara congratulated Mr. Mandel on having an "open door" policy so far as complaints by women against men employees were concerned.

### **Conditions at Marshall Field & Co.'s**

Mr. James Simpson, vice-president of Marshall Field & Co., was the next witness. Chairman O'Hara plunged into the "living wage" at once and asked Mr. Simpson's opinion.

"I have not investigated closely myself," was the answer, "but I have heard it asserted by good authorities that \$8 was about right."

The witness then cited the number of women employees in the retail departments as 4,222, regularly employed at eight hours' work. There were 440 at three and one-half to four hours a day, he said, most being waitresses in the restaurants and tea rooms. There also was a force that relieved the saleswomen from 11:30 a. m. to 3:30 p. m., during lunch hours. Ninety per cent in these two classes were young married women earning some extra money, and girls who were in Chicago to study music or other things and were not wholly dependent on their earnings. They were paid at the rate of \$8 and had a minimum earning power of \$4.

"There are also twenty girls in the millinery school, said he. "They are there but a few hours and are really learning the trade."

### **Field's General Average \$10.76**

Mr. Simpson gave the total of merchandise saleswomen as 1,895, exclusive of section heads, at an average of \$12.33, of whom 213, from 16 to 18 years, received \$5



weekly. The general average wage for girls and women was \$10.76. There also were six welfare workers, he said, who did nothing else and often went into the employees' homes.

"These boys and girls are going to school, as it were," said Mr. Simpson in referring to small wages. "I do not think it is fair for you to say the difference between their wages and those not living at home is putting a burden on the parents' shoulders. They are getting all they are worth, and they are preparing for greater earning power."

"Suppose a girl goes wrong while getting only \$5 a week?" suggested Senator Juul.

"An infinitesimal percentage of women go wrong the first time for monetary reasons, in my belief," replied Mr. Simpson.

The witness then discussed the competition in the department store business.

### **Calls Matter of Wages Competitive**

"This matter of wages is entirely a competitive matter," said he. "I don't believe there is as keen a competitive spot in the world as State street. No house can get far away from its competitors, and no one can get far away in principle from Milwaukee avenue.

"A minimum wage law," he continued, "would make it impossible for Illinois to compete with the other states. In my opinion, such a move must be national."

"But we must make a start," expostulated Senator Juul.

"Well, Washington is a good place to begin," said Mr. Simpson.

"What were the net profits of Marshall Field & Co. last year?" inquired the lieutenant governor.

"I do not care to answer that without legal advice. It is a private corporation and the public does not hold any of the stock.

"Do you refuse to give us the figures, Mr. Simpson?" persisted the chairman.

"Yes."

### **Again Declines to Answer**

"Were the profits in excess of \$1,000,000?"

Mr. Simpson again declined to answer.

"Do most of the profits remain in Chicago or Illinois?"

"Yes."

"Are there any large stockholders not residing in Illinois or the United States?"

"One, Joseph N. Field of Manchester, England."

"What profits did he receive last year?"

"I do not care to answer that, but it was a small portion."

Mr. Simpson and Senator Juul then had a debate over the latter's expression of "the starvation line."

"What were your firm's dividends last year?" asked Chairman O'Hara.

"I refuse to answer that."

"Has your firm ever taken a stand against union labor?"

"We employ both union and nonunion labor."

### **Says 1,035 Get Less Than \$8**

Reverting to wage standards Mr. Simpson said there were 163 women over 18 years receiving a minimum of \$6, and the total of those getting less than \$8 was 1,035.

Chairman O'Hara had the senate resolution authorizing the commission read, and again invited Mr. Simpson

to answer his financial question. The request was refused on the same grounds.

[Next day, however, Chairman O'Hara announced that Marshall Field & Co. had agreed to turn over all their books to the commission. James Simpson, vice-president of the company, at once stepped forward and said he wanted to qualify the announcement by stating the commission might examine the books but "only so far as they may have a bearing on this subject."

"I am only speaking for myself personally and not the commission," said Mr. O'Hara, "when I say I do not want this information unless it can be shown to all the people of Illinois."]

Senator Johann Waage, who was present, elicited the information that the Field firm was capitalized at \$6,000,000.

Mr. Simpson said he knew the commission was engaged in a laudable work and that his firm wanted to assist.

"Will you assist by raising your scale of wage?" inquired Mr. O'Hara.

"If the others do—yes," was the reply.

Mr. Simpson closed with a statement in which he said his retail store closed at 1 p. m. Saturdays, gave two weeks' vacation to those employed a year or more, and one week to others. Half pay is given the sick and in many cases full pay. Full time is allowed if employees have to see physicians or dentists.

A trained nurse is always at the store and free beds are maintained for needy employees at St. Luke's and the Presbyterian hospitals. Lunches cost employees 10 or 11 cents. A school is held for the junior help, the course

being compulsory and consisting of arithmetic, grammar, spelling and penmanship, which are taught one hour daily until the pupils arrive at high school standard. The firm also has a branch of the city public library, a music room, and is building a gymnasium, the witness said.

### **Figures \$8 to \$9 as Living Wage**

President Roy M. Shayne of John T. Shayne & Co., furriers, testified he had but eight women in his employ, who received \$8 to \$25 weekly.

"Do you believe low wages have some effect on women's morals?" he was asked, and replied in the affirmative. He said he thought a living wage would be \$8 or \$9 weekly.

While these witnesses were testifying the Commission's investigator, M. Blair Coan, took two deputy sheriffs and raided a house at 2101 Dearborn street known as the Casino hotel and cafe.

Six women, including the head of the establishment, were subpoenaed and taken directly to the La Salle hotel. Each asserted her downfall came from insufficient wages to live honestly.

Before the taking of this testimony Mr. O'Hara warned the hundred-odd women present of its nature and invited any wishing to withdraw. All remained.

### **Stories of Women Taken in Raid**

"A. R.," 38 years old, said she had worked in a laundry at \$4 a week and supported a son and daughter. She gave up the struggle at 24 years and had continued to support her children, but had sent them to another city.

"P. B.," 23 years old, had worked in shoe factories in

Portsmouth and Cincinnati until four years ago from the time she was 14 years old. She got \$5 a week.

"R. A.," 22 years old, said she had earned \$3 a week since she was 16 in a St. Louis paper factory. When she was 20 she could not earn enough to assist her parents and took the shadowy life. She told the commission she would willingly return to her former life if she could earn \$12 a week.

"L. C.," 21 years old, an orphan, had been a telephone operator in Cleveland and for the Toledo Home Telephone company at from \$16 to \$20 a month as a beginner. She gave it up two years ago, but denied being brought to Chicago as a "white slave."

"R. R." is now 26 years and until seven years ago tried work as a domestic and worked in stores and factories in St. Louis. The average was \$4.50 a week, she said.

"I. H.," proprietor of the house, said she was 23 and a native of Grand Rapids. She had done housework between the ages of 10 and 17, working from 5 a. m. to 8 p. m. She denied knowledge of "white slave" traffic.

Another woman witness was heard in executive session at noon, and the details of her story convinced the commissioners of the menace that lay in the spread of disease.

"The Commission is trying to remedy conditions," said Chairman O'Hara at the close of the session, "not to ridicule or censure individuals. "The only remedy is the forcing of large employers of labor to make public all facts regarding woman labor, and also the forcing of employees to make public not only all the facts about their employers but about their home lives as well."

#### FOURTH SESSION, MARCH 8

Mr. Edward Hillman, manager of Hillman's, one of the large State street department stores, was the first witness before the Commission at the session of Saturday, March 8.

He said the morals of women employees and the question of low wages might be connected in certain instances and not in others. He was emphatic in his statement that he felt a moral responsibility for the condition of the girls employed. The lowest wages paid by Hillman's was \$3 to errand girls. The highest salary paid women, not department heads, was \$30 a week. He thought a minimum "living wage" should be about \$9 a week.

The witness declared that his office door is always open for the complaints of girls. He pointed out that the old-fashioned days when the head of a firm directed the business from a desk are past. He said he was about the store most of the time and personally watched over the women and girls and the conditions surrounding them.

Mr. Hillman testified that seven floorwalkers had been discharged by his firm for attempting to exert an evil influence over the girls. Other State street stores were at once warned of these men and a check to their activities in the loop district was placed in this manner.

#### Girls Never Blacklisted

No matter for what a girl is discharged, Mr. Hillman declared, she never is blacklisted or boycotted among State street stores.

The witness said he would at once have an investigation made of the home conditions of the lower priced girls in the employ of Hillman's. He declared he started work at



\$2 and his present partner was his former employer. He pointed out that the Hillman store has a system of commissions by which the saleswomen who are capable can earn considerably more than their salaries.

Mr. Hillman promised to co-operate with the commission in its efforts to better conditions among the working women and secure a minimum wage law. He refused to state the profits of his concern until he had talked with his counsel.

"Mr. Hillman, do you connect low wages with immorality among women?" asked Chairman O'Hara.

"In some cases I might and in others I might not."

"Suppose a girl is getting \$8 a week and it costs her \$10 to live on the bare necessities of life. Is she well fortified to resist temptation?"

"Yes, I think so."

"There are women who would starve before yielding to temptation?" suggested the chairman.

"Yes, absolutely," replied the witness.

"And there are women who would go wrong before they would starve?"

"Yes, there are."

#### Average Wage Paid

Mr. Hillman said he employed 817 women. The average wage paid is \$8.71. He explained the commission system by which a saleswoman who may be earning only \$8 a week gets 2½ per cent on what she sells over \$160 worth of goods. If she sells less than \$160 worth she gets only her guaranteed salary.

The witness said girls getting only \$6 a week salary often earn as high as \$16 a week by means of the commis-

sion system. In addition to this he told of a method of adding to the girl's wage and the firm's business by paying the saleswoman, for example, 1 cent on each yard of remnants disposed of.

"Do the girls get a scolding if they fail to sell a certain amount of goods?" the lieutenant governor asked.

"Absolutely never," replied Mr. Hillman.

### Wages of Girls Under 16

The witness said out of the 817 women and girls employed in his store 99 were under 16 years of age. The number and wages of the latter are: Six at \$3, 23 at \$3.50, 24 at \$4, and 46 at \$5.

Mr. Hillman said further there are 150 saleswomen who earn between \$6 and \$7 a week. All of these, he declared, live at home or with relatives.

"The \$3 girls are used to run errands about the store," explained the witness. "They are mostly brought in by their mothers or fathers and rarely are taken on except at the request of their parents."

"As an employer of these girls do you feel you have any moral responsibility for their welfare?" was asked.

"Yes, sir, I do," responded the witness. "We have women who go around to these girls and watch over them. We have women doctors who go floor by floor and see all the girls daily. They report to me direct."

"If you found a girl working at \$3 a week and discovered she had lost her virtue as a result of low wages would you as a man feel the pangs of conscience?" asked the lieutenant governor.

Mr. Hillman paused as if considering.

**"Accident of Life or Business"**

"Perhaps you would consider it one of the accidents of life or business," suggested the questioner.

"That's it exactly," replied the witness.

Mr. Hillman then told of one girl who started at \$3 who now is earning \$27 as assistant cashier. She is 27 and has been with the firm nine years.

"It is impossible for a girl to be kept back if she is worthy of going ahead or wants to go ahead," the witness continued. "I am around every day. I am a good judge of girls and I know when one is a good saleswoman or not. She could come to me any time with a complaint. Sometimes two or three girls a day come. Other days no one appears."

"How many floorwalkers have you discharged for charges made by girls?"

"About seven, I should think. The name is given to the other State street stores so he can't take advantage of any girls in other stores."

**Competition for Employees Keen**

Mr. Hillman declared the competition for employees is keen. He said girls constantly are changing, seeking to better themselves. The witness declared this competition is increasing the store pay rolls. He said a girl seeking a position signs an application blank telling what wages she expects to receive, but no attempt is made to look into the home life or environment of the applicant.

"Did it ever occur to you that you might fulfill part of your moral obligations to these girls by following up this line of investigation?" said Chairman O'Hara. "Will you tell the commission you will look into this?"

"That is a good idea," replied the witness. "You bet I will."

Mr. Hillman then told of being a "self-made man" and of walking to work and carrying his lunch.

### Figures on Living Wage

"Now forget you are an employer of 817 girls and women," suggested the chairman. "Look at this from the standpoint of the girl who is working for \$3 to \$5 a week. What, would you say, is the least amount on which a girl can support herself in Chicago if dependent on her own resources?"

"About \$8 or \$9 a week."

"Could she do it for \$8?"

"Perhaps so."

"Would she have any money for harmless amusements?"

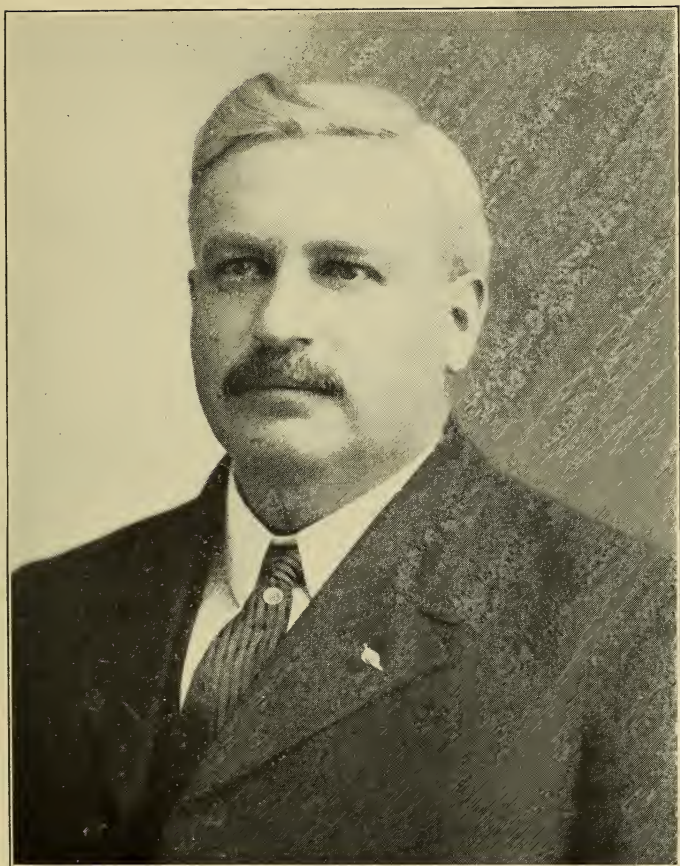
"Say, you're right. She wouldn't have a whole lot. That's pretty low. But she could do it fine on \$12 a week. I could live on \$12 or \$10 a week if I had to. I guess \$8 or \$9 would be all right, however."

Mr. Hillman then promised to give the commission a list of 150 girls earning between \$6 and \$7 a week. The lieutenant governor said the commission would investigate their home conditions.

### Says Poverty Might Bring Downfall

The witness said he never had given the matter of what the girls would have to pay for room and board a thought. He declared it might be \$6 or perhaps as low as \$4 a week.

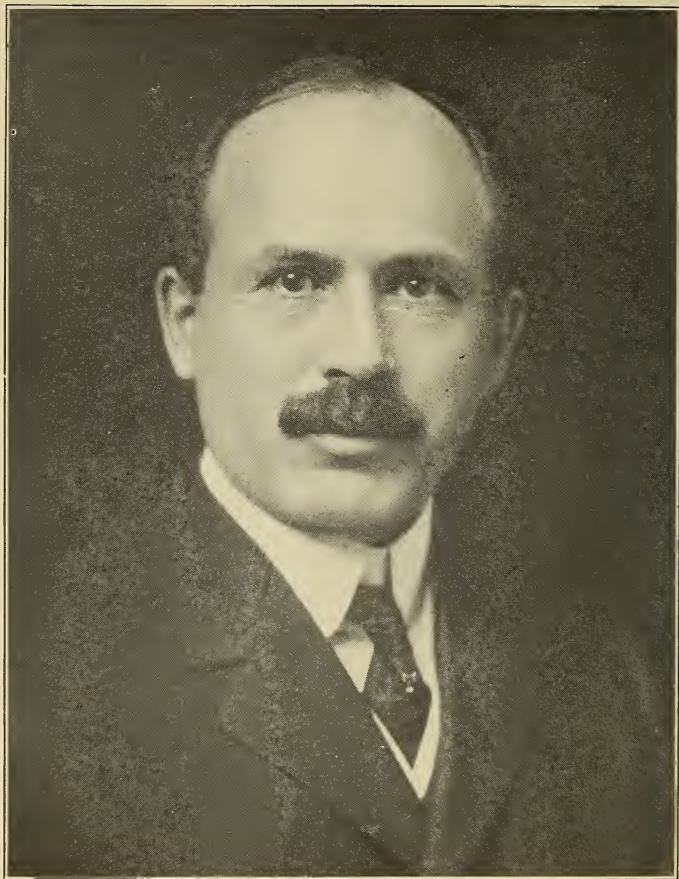
"Do you think the lack of funds makes a girl go wrong?"



HON. S. V. STEWART  
Governor of Montana

Who says: "Recent investigations tend to make firmer my  
advocacy of a minimum wage for working women."





GOVERNOR FRANCIS E. McGOVERN  
of Wisconsin

Who in a message to the Legislature January 9, 1913, said:  
"We should have a carefully-drawn law fixing  
a minimum wage for women."



"It might," he replied.

### **Tells of the Store Policy**

Mr. Hillman then told of his policy in operating his store.

"I have a motto in my office, 'Go or grow,' " he said. "I've been through the mill and I know what it is. I always am glad to advance any girl that is capable and deserves it. She is better than the outside girl; if she were not we wouldn't try to make them good."

State Representative F. E. J. Lloyd asked Mr. Hillman if he knew it was common knowledge that a large number of department store girls were reported to lead immoral lives. He replied it never had come to his notice.

"Instead I believe department stores take more interest in their help than do any other employers of labor," he said. "We have men and women detectives watching for 'mashers.' One got such a thrashing by a house detective yesterday that I actually was sorry for him. He got more than was coming to him. The moral standard of our girls and women is of the highest. Why don't one of you come around and look them over? You are all good judges."

Senator Beall promptly accepted the invitation.

Mr. Hillman denied that he had contributed to a fund to fight the minimum wage law.

### **Mr. Glenn on the Stand**

John Mack Glenn then took the stand. He is secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' association and owns the Manufacturers' News.

He admitted that the members of the Illinois Manu-

facturers' Association were somewhat "nervous" over prospective results of the present investigation. He declared the lieutenant governor's statement that there were 50,000 girls and women in the city working for \$5 a week or less was not true. He said the census gave the total number of women wage earners above 16 years of age in Chicago as 57,000.

The witness declared the wage question the least factor in the question of morality among working girls. He said he thought the commission was on the wrong track and that many other factors entered into the situation.

In executive session the Commission took up the case of E. R. F., a young girl, aged 16, whose death as the result of an operation had been reported the day before.

The girl had been employed as a "dipper" in a candy factory. She was paid \$2 a week and "had to contribute something toward the support of her mother." A girl friend took her to "Dreamland," a large dance hall, "and now," said a chronicle of the proceedings, "the coroner is seeking to fix the blame for her death."

### Senators Visit Hillman's

After the session Senators Beall and Juul visited the Hillman store.

"I have made arrangements to have a trained investigator go to work at once to prepare a report on the home conditions of the girls in our store," said Mr. Hillman. "Furthermore, I am having prepared a report to be submitted to the commission containing the names of every girl on our pay rolls who receives less than \$7 a week. If the commission wants our investigator to look into the home affairs of our girls making that sum or less

to find out if they really live at home, as stated in their application blanks, we will do so. At any rate, any new girls, applying for the positions which pay less than \$7, will be looked up by our investigator, and if it is found that they do not live at home they will not be employed in such position.

### Move a Good One

"I think I realize that such a move on the part of a department store is an innovation, but in the light that the matter has been presented by the commission I believe that it is an innovation of a highly beneficial character and I am for it enthusiastically. I want to have the girls in this store the most contented set of employees in town, and I want to help the commission at every angle in learning the best methods to make the girls know my stand."

The news of a similar move on the part of Mandel Brothers came in a letter addressed to the commission, signed by Edwin F. Mandel. The letter stated that an investigator would be started at work at once to look into the home conditions of the girls employed at Mandel Brothers' store, his work to be supplemented by the work of the matron now employed at the store. The letter also contained a paragraph telling of an increased minimum wage to be installed by Mandel Brothers.

"We are exceedingly pleased with these evidences of the co-operation on the part of at least part of the store owners to supplement the work of the commission by favorable moves," said Senator Juul, in commenting on the Mandel and Hillman steps. "It is only to be hoped that others follow the good example now and in the steps that are to follow when the investigation has advanced farther."

## Chapter VIII

### MORE IMPORTANT EVIDENCE

#### Fifth Session, March 10

At the morning session on March 10, Mr. James Simpson, vice-president of Marshall Field & Co., was recalled because, when on the stand before, he had refused to testify as to the amount of Marshall Field & Co.'s profits. He still persisted in his refusal on this appearance, but he added that Marshall Field & Co.'s profits were sufficiently large to permit the concern paying its women employees a minimum wage as high as \$12 a week.

The witness said he had heard that a girl could live on \$8 or \$9 a week.

Following this Mr. O'Hara began a line of inquiry calculated to bring out whether, if a minimum wage of \$12 a week was fixed by statute, the difference between that amount and the amount now being paid would come out of the pockets of the public—in increased cost of goods—or out of the profits of the company.

Mr. Simpson replied that the increase in wages would be paid either out of an increase in prices for goods or out of the company's profits. It might be possible, he said, to increase wages to \$12 a week without increasing the cost of goods. The witness stated also that increas-

ing wages to \$12 a week might be attended by complications. What, for instance, would a firm have to pay a man with family if it paid \$2 a day to girls with no one but themselves to support?

### Lytton Tells of Hub System

Mr. George Lytton, vice-president of The Hub, a large State street store, said that there existed in his store a system of benefits by which employees who had been with the firm a year or more received a gift at Christmas time. This amounts to about 2 per cent of the wages paid. In cases where the employee has been with the company a long time the percentage was increased. One woman, a cashier, he mentioned, received \$500 last year as a gift from the firm. These gifts, however, Mr. Lytton carefully pointed out, were not regarded by the firm as wages or connected with wages. He declined to say how much these gifts aggregated.

Mr. Lytton stated that his company employs 175 women and that the lowest wage paid any woman was \$6.50 a week. The girls who receive this amount are called inspectors. If their work proved satisfactory their wages were raised to \$7 a week.

The average age of the girls receiving \$6.50 a week, said the witness, was 16 years. Other employees received \$9, \$10, \$11, and \$12.

In response to questions Mr. Lytton declared that his company was in constant competition with companies that paid their women employees smaller wages than the Hub women receive, and that he had found paying the higher wage was good business policy.

"We get better women," he said. "We get a better average of brains."

### Declines to Give Net Profits

Mr. Lytton was asked the net profit of The Hub last year. He declined to answer. The company, he said, was a close corporation, including himself, his father, and his brother. His father was out of the city, but he had written him on the subject of divulging the company's profits. He did not care to answer, he said, until he had received his father's answer.

At this point Senator Juul made the suggestion that, as the department store men all seemed "squeamish" on the subject of profits, it might be well to postpone inquiry into that subject until late in the investigation. Chairman O'Hara said that the matter of profits was vital and that he thought it best to give the employers a fair opportunity to co-operate with the commission before employing any of its powers to force testimony. It was decided not to insist on Mr. Lytton's telling his company's profits.

The attention of the witness was then called to the fact that it had generally been conceded a woman could not live on less than \$8 or \$9 a week. The minimum wage paid the Hub employees was under that sum. The commission wanted to know where the Hub women employees get the rest of the money necessary to keep body and soul together.

### Had Considered a Minimum

Mr. Lytton replied that the employees of the class referred to are all young girls and live at home. The witness said he did not think there was any question as to the moral responsibility of an employer to pay employees enough to live on. The members of his company, he said, had been considering the women's wage question for a



long time and had discussed the matter of establishing an \$8 minimum wage for women. He said that he thought that that was enough to provide a woman with the necessities of life. He said he would furnish the commission with a list showing how a woman could live on \$8 a week.

The witness added that the profits of The Hub were sufficient to admit of increasing the wages of all women employees. He said he believed all of the other big stores could safely raise women's wages. Just the minute that the wages of little girls were raised to \$12 a week, however, complications would follow. As The Hub employs only 175 women, Mr. Lytton said that phase of the matter did not worry him much. In the case of Siegel, Cooper & Co., Marshall Field & Co., and The Fair, where most of the employees are women, the situation would be different.

He then said his company has established on Indiana avenue a home for women and girls employed in the store. They get board and room there for \$3.50 a week. The home is sufficiently near the store to obviate the necessity of paying car fare. He thought it might be a good idea for the big stores to unite in establishing a home for women employees.

### **Basch Classifies Employees**

Mr. Joseph Basch, second vice-president of Siegel, Cooper & Co., classified his low wage women employees as beginners, learners, and apprentices. The first receive \$3.50 a week. There are now three in the store. The next group receive from \$4 to \$4.50 a week. There are fifty-five apprentices at \$5 a week. Other employees earn from \$6 to \$29 a week. The company employs 1,250

women. In round figures 1,200 women receive an average of \$8.56 a week. About 300 women are getting \$8 a week. Half of the 1,200 were receiving less than \$8.56 and half more than that.

The witness said he didn't believe wages had anything to do with the vice question. Morality, said the witness, was a "state of mind." His firm, he said, felt moral responsibility for the welfare of its women employees.

Q.—Mr. Basch, if I were to tell you that 90 per cent of the girls that have been before this commission fell in the beginning period while they were getting \$3.50 and \$4 a week, what would you say? A.—That they had an immoral mind. Why, you can find column after column of want ads in every paper in Chicago, daily, the year round, and you cannot supply the demand for decent women and good women.

Chairman O'Hara—On jobs that pay starvation wages? A.—On jobs that give them \$5 and \$6 and \$7, up to \$9 a week, board, and a comfortable home.

### Juul Questions Basch

Senator Juul—Where would you have the girl go for the remaining \$3 or \$4? A.—She does not have to go wrong, and she does not get any——

Chairman O'Hara—She can die.

The witness was asked the net profit of his firm last year. He refused to answer. He was asked if his company would object to a minimum wage of \$12 a week. He replied that the company would be willing to pay a "reasonable" minimum wage. Asked if he was a college graduate, he replied: "The college of experience is my college."

Q.—Do you know many men on State street who are college graduates? A.—My old friend, Netcher, he died sleeping on the counter; my friend Hillman, who was on the stand here, his college was similar to mine; Marshall Field was a boy in Massachusetts, somewhere in a little store. The Mandels are all gone, and they were honest boys; they started in the same manner. Mr. Lehmann, who left us quite a few years ago, he was out of the ranks, a very poor boy, and developed that wonderful business. Mr. Young the same way. I have not spoken of any of our own. Mr. Cooper started without anything. So did Mr. Siegel.

“The answers have been evasive, and I think the commission has lost a little patience,” said Chairman O’Hara at one point.

“I didn’t want to be evasive; I have tried to be as direct as you like to have it,” the witness replied.

### Gives Montgomery Ward Data

Mr. William C. Thorne, vice-president of Montgomery Ward & Co., the first afternoon witness, said his company was incorporated under the laws of New York. The firm employs 1,973 women, and, eliminating the beginners, 1,140 get an average wage of \$9.25, while, deducting those receiving \$15 and over, there are 1,098 who average \$8.80.

Of those receiving from \$5 to \$8, 233 were placed at \$5, 576 at \$6, 373 at \$7, and 316 at \$8. Eight dollars is the minimum wage for a girl “adrift” or looking after herself.

“The beginners,” said Mr. Thorne, “are all between 14 and 15 and live at home with parents or guardians. We believe their assertions to be true, as they have to present school certificates signed by their teachers.”

The general acceptance of \$8 as the minimum living wage for women was discussed, and then Chairman O'Hara asked:

"Do you think you have done right in placing the burden upon the parents in cases where you pay less than \$8?"

"Our contention is that we are relieving the family," replied Mr. Thorne. "Most girls want to assist their families, and we take them when they leave the grammar school, usually at about 14.

#### Believes in School Until 16

"Personally I think they should be in school until they are 16. These girls don't know what to do and in most instances their parents bring them to us, as they want to place them in a nice place, one that is both moral and sanitary, as is ours. Therefore, we are relieving the family needs to the extent of \$5.00.

"We have nurses, matrons, and welfare workers who visit any girl who looks underfed or underclothed and report to us. We feel the responsibility for each and every one in our establishment. Doctor's bills are paid by us and for life, if necessary.

"The \$5 beginner is advanced to \$6 in sixty or ninety days, or else given notice that she is not available. The next step to \$7 is usually about six months. The average age of the \$7 girls is under 18."

"How much would it cost to abolish the \$5, \$6, and \$7 grades and pay \$8 as a minimum?" inquired Mr. O'Hara.

"About \$75,000 a year."

"Were your profits in excess of that?"

**Profits \$2,370,000 for Year**

"They certainly were. For the last fiscal year they were \$2,370,000."

"Put the \$2,370,000 on one side of the table and the \$75,000 on the other," said the lieutenant governor. "Does that not mean anything to you, Mr. Thorne?"

"It doesn't mean anything to me, because I don't figure it that way," responded the witness.

"But don't your girls figure it?" persisted the interrogator.

"We spend nearly that amount yearly in relief work, for sickness, old age pensions, loans to employees, and help for indigent families."

"Would a minimum wage law seriously affect your business?"

"Not ours, but it would have an injurious effect on hundreds of factories in this state. It would force them to move to Indiana or Wisconsin, or they could not compete with the east."

Mr. Thorne said that, generally speaking, a man would better fill a position at \$12 than a woman.

"In the event of such a law I think half the women workers in the state would be out of work," said he. "I know that would be the case in our establishment."

"Don't you think a minimum wage for women would gradually increase men's pay?"

"Possibly so."

**Juul Advances Favorite Simile**

Senator Juul advanced his favorite simile of master and apprentice, but could not persuade the mail order witness to agree with him.

"That practice has disappeared like hundreds of others that would be laughed at today," said he. "I don't think the obligation now prevails."

"Don't you consider that a step backward?" inquired Senator Juul.

"I think we have taken a step forward," replied Mr. Thorne. "The apprentice was boarded and clothed, but he had to bind himself for a term of years. Nowadays the employee is a free agent and at liberty to better himself or herself."

"Do you know that nearly every delinquent girl this commission has heard testify said she had been brought to shame through low wages?"

"I heard all that testimony, and don't believe they told you the entire truth," responded the witness. "If the finding of the commission is that our scale is too low we will raise it, but we think our scale is about right. I have heard all the merchants testify about the minimum living wage, and I don't think they know much about it. You will hear that when you summon sociological students to appear before you, as I suppose they will."

### Ready to Aid All Employees

"We claim all our employees without homes are on a self-supporting basis, and if we discover they are not we will put them there in an hour."

"None of our girls can starve, be sick or underclothed. I think we do more for our employees than any establishment in Illinois."

"Will you establish an \$8 weekly minimum wage?" inquired Chairman O'Hara.

"I don't say that we will," said the witness. "I don't know that you are right yet."



Mr. Thorne then gave four estimates of weekly living from four of his \$8 girls, as follows:

GIRL A.

Room .....	\$3.00
Breakfast of coffee and rolls.....	.40
Lunches.....	.90
Dinners.....	1.40
Car fare.....	.60
Sundries.....	1.70
	<hr/>
	\$8.00

GIRL C.

Room, board and basket lunch.....	\$3.50
Does own laundry...	.20
Car fare.....	.25
Savings bank.....	.25
Sundries.....	3.80
	<hr/>
	\$8.00

GIRL B.

Room, board, and laundry with sister.....	\$3.50
Car fare.....	1.00
Insurance.....	.24
Sundries.....	3.26
	<hr/>
	\$8.00

GIRL D.

Room, board, laundry, and noon lunch.....	\$4.00
Insurance.....	.21
Sundries.....	3.79
	<hr/>
	\$8.00

Carson-Pirie Data Given

Mr. John T. Pirie, Jr., one of the partners of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., was the next witness and said his firm employed 2,004 women, whose average wage, excluding department heads, buyers, etc., was about \$10. These were regulars as to hours. Irregulars consisted chiefly of all waitresses, who got \$4 to \$7 and two meals a day.

He cited the following figures on employees and wages: Forty-six errand girls at \$4, 26 at \$4.50, 72 at \$5, 20 at \$5.50, 79 at \$6, 9 at \$6.50, 817 at \$7, 28 at \$7.50, and 249 at \$8.

Chairman O'Hara was inquisitive about the ability of girls to reach the \$8 mark, which he termed "the bread line," and the witness said many reached it in two years and could not recall any taking five years.

"What relation have low wages to the moral standard?" inquired Mr. O'Hara.

"A slight connection, I should say," said Mr. Pirie.

"Would your conscience hurt you if you knew of any woman in your employ who had fallen because she was not getting enough to live decently on?"

"Yes, it would."

#### Declines to Reveal Profits

Mr. Pirie was asked the net profits of his concern, but declined to answer. Being pressed, he also declined to say it "roundly made over \$1,000,000."

"Would you say that making \$8 the minimum wage would seriously impair your business?"

"I haven't figured it."

"Would a \$12 minimum wage force your firm into bankruptcy?"

"I am not prepared to answer."

"Out of your net profits would you have enough to pay a minimum wage of \$12 and still do good business?"

"What is good business?" queried the witness in answer. Later he admitted it could have been done and still show a profit for the house.

Chairman O'Hara then served notice that he personally would insist that all witnesses be compelled to give full statements.

Senator Tossey figured that \$40,000 would cover the increase spoken of and asked if such additional wages would materially affect the firm.

"No, not in good years," was the answer.

### **Advocates Federal Wage Law**

In response to a query by Senator Juul the witness would not say without consulting counsel whether his firm would increase wages without awaiting legislation. He thought a minimum wage law without co-operation of neighboring states would not be good, and, like Mr. Simpson, advised a national law.

"I think the public spirit of Chicago will solve the difficulty without compulsion," observed Senator Juul.

Chairman O'Hara returned to the questioning on profits.

"The people of Illinois and the entire country, he asserted, "are demanding to know these figures in order to make just comparisons. Your refusal imperils business."

Mr. Pirie admitted he might have said that last year was the greatest in the history of his firm.

### **Conditions at "The Fair"**

Edward J. Lehmann, vice-president of The Fair, said his firm was incorporated for \$1,000,000 under the Illinois laws. He declined to give the earnings as "of no interest to the public to know."

"If the commission learned your corporation was making 20, 30, or 40 per cent, and that some of your employees were getting less than a living wage, would you still say it was none of the public's business?" inquired Senator Juul.

"Not if you could show those conditions," was the answer.

Mr. Lehmann gave these figures on employees and wages: 74 at \$3, 66 at \$3.50, 58 at \$4, and 59 at \$4.50;

all of these he classed as juveniles, 55 per cent being under 16 years. The firm also has 128 at \$5 and \$5.50, 276 at \$6 and \$6.50, 216 at \$7, 74 at \$7.50, and 180 at \$8.

If those under \$8 were raised to that figure, the witness said, it would depreciate the income, as they would have to raise men as well.

"Could you do it and pay 6 per cent on your investment?"

### Would Have to Raise All

"Yes, if we did not have to raise the other help, which we probably would have to do."

"If you raised a little girl from \$3 to \$8 would a man getting \$15 feel aggrieved?"

"I think so."

Mr. Lehmann thought his company would not fight legislation.

The witness said he had abolished fines about six months ago. The company furnishes free medical attendance, drinking water, and contributes to the store benevolent system. He saw no connection between wages and morality or honesty.

"Is not a cashier more likely to steal if she is poorly paid?" inquired Senator Juul.

"Not if she is a good girl."

"Do you believe that a good girl getting \$4 is as well fortified against immorality as one getting \$8?"

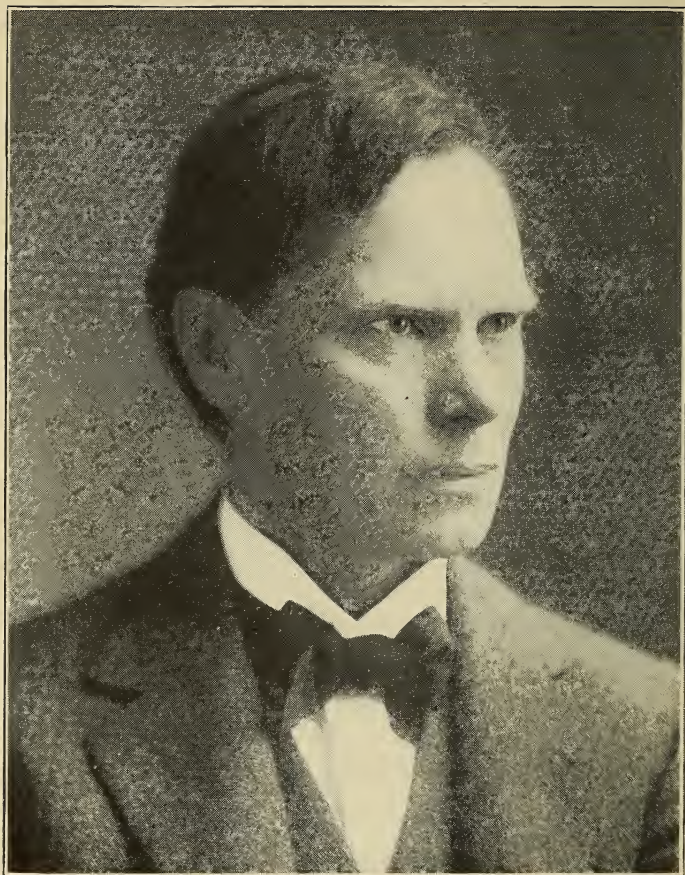
"Yes, but I believe girls can get more than \$4 if they go out as domestics. I think 87 per cent of our girls live at home, and the 13 per cent that do not average \$9.50 a week."



HON. JOHN K. TENER  
Governor of Pennsylvania

An Advocate of State Legislation on the  
subject of the Minimum Wage.





HON. WILLIAM SULZER  
Governor of New York

Who advocates "the Establishment of Wage Boards with authority  
to fix a living wage."



**Knows no "State Street Trust"**

Mr. Lehmann declined to give the net profits of The Fair, and denied knowledge of an organization of State street merchants that might be called a "trust." He knew of the State Street Retail Association, but did not think there had been a meeting the previous week.

"Is it possible that this association might have decided that the merchants should not give their net profit figures to this commission?" inquired Mr. O'Hara.

"It is possible."

"Was such action taken?" asked the chairman.

"I must decline to answer without advice of counsel."

"Do you realize that a refusal to answer that question practically means yes?"

Mr. Lehmann declined to comment.

"Whom have you consulted about your testimony outside of your firm? Have the other merchants entered into an agreement to withhold testimony?"

No answer.

"Do you understand that in defying this commission you hold yourself liable to be cited for contempt before the bar of the senate?"

"I only declined until I could see counsel."

Replying to further questions, the witness said the retail association did not discuss wages or prices or specify special sales days, but might blacklist dishonest employees. He recalled one case in which a floor manager had insulted a girl and that he had been discharged. He did not recall having heard of a fund raised by business men to fight a minimum wage law.

**Rothschild & Co. Data**

Henry C. Schwab, vice-president and secretary of Rothschild & Co., admitted knowing of the State Street Retail Association, and declined to state his firm's profits.

"Have you consulted your lawyers and other merchants?" asked Mr. O'Hara.

"There has been some little discussion," was the reply.

Mr. Schwab said he employed 1,154 women, some receiving as low as \$3. Ten per cent got less than \$5 and less than 20 got \$3. He was excused and asked to be ready with explicit figures as to help as well as profits.

**Light on Boston Store Profits**

Albert Ellinger, merchandise manager of the Boston Store, admitted his firm's profits were "within the range of \$1,000,000." He employs 1,658 women, ranging from \$3 a week to \$5,000 a year. Twelve received \$3.

"Were any meetings of the State street merchants held?" suddenly interjected the chairman.

"I don't care to answer," said Mr. Ellinger.

He thought the Boston Store paid the highest wages to women of any department store in the United States, and cited some figures of saleswomen's earnings through wages and commissions, the latter varying according to departments. He cited these ranges of high and low from the last week's payroll: Jewelry, \$47 and \$13; hardware, \$22 and \$5; clothing, \$35 and \$11; drugs, \$18 and \$15; hats and caps, \$15 and \$7.

**Employees' Savings \$1,000,000**

"Employees of this store have deposits of \$1,000,000 in downtown banks," he asserted.

"Are those the \$5,000 buyers?" inquired Mr. O'Hara.

"No; they are the \$3 a week girls among others."

"Why don't you surprise us pleasantly by making your minimum wage \$8?" inquired Senator Beall.

"We would have to wait until Mrs. Netcher returned," said Mr. Ellinger. "She is in New York and will return soon."

He said the store has matrons and a benefit association, the deficits of which are made up by the store, and to which about one-fourth of the premium sum was contributed.

## **Chapter IX**

### **THE INQUIRY WIDENS**

After three days of examination of the heads of Chicago's stores, to ascertain the possible connection between low wages and vice, Chairman O'Hara of the Vice Commission announced that only a small part of the task had been accomplished.

Public hearings, such as had occupied the attention of the Commission in the Hotel LaSalle, were suspended for ten days. In the interval several conferences were held. With the reopening of the public sessions the Commission planned to turn its searchlight upon stores in the outlying districts of Chicago to ascertain the wages of girls and young women there.

#### **Will Widen the Inquiry**

Then it was decided to investigate other industries and places of amusement, including the following:

1. Factories.
2. Sweatshops.
3. Dance halls.
4. Community dances.
5. The stage, particularly chorus girls.
6. Restaurants, to show the wages and environment of waitresses.
7. Stenographers, their wages and environment.

8. The reported existence of vice resorts in exclusive residence districts.

9. Popular music of the "smut song" variety.

A large force of investigators was set at work under the direction of the Commission, gathering data on each of these subjects and rounding up witnesses to be called before the Commission at future sessions. The investigations, it was announced, might easily extend over a period of two years.

"Every day will be a busy one for the Commission," Chairman O'Hara said. "We have finished only a small part of our work. From what we have learned, it appears probable low wages are the greatest source of danger to the moral condition of working girls and working women, but that is only one feature of our investigation."

### Hears From Four Governors

Mr. O'Hara received on March 10, from the governors of Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan and Nebraska, communications in response to his general letter sent to every governor in the Union, inviting co-operation in the movement started by the Illinois Commission. The four governors assured him of their co-operation and promised to take up the subject early with the legislatures of their respective states.

From Governor E. M. Ammons of Colorado came the word that the western executive was ready at once to join personally with other governors in any movement against white slave traffic. Governor Ammons had prepared to take up the question with the Colorado legislature.

Governor George W. Clarke sent a special message to the Iowa legislature on March 10, asking that body to become actively interested in an investigation of the white slave situation in Iowa. The message suggested also that a commission be named to serve for two years.

New York state also will co-operate with the Illinois authorities in their effort to stamp out the "white slave" traffic, Governor Sulzer having so advised Lieutenant Governor O'Hara.

### **Conference with the President**

Before resuming the public hearings in Chicago the Senate Commission planned conferences as follows:

Conference with President Wilson at Washington, D. C.

Conference in New York with John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to compare notes on the vice situations in Chicago and New York and discuss effective remedies. It was planned to have this conference soon after the Washington session, but the absence of Mr. Rockefeller from New York interfered with the program.

Conference in Chicago, to be conducted by the Senate Commission, to be participated in by Chicago's leading employers of girls and women, particularly the heads of department stores, and as many members of the Illinois General Assembly as might attend. The minimum wage proposition to be the chief topic of discussion at this meeting.

### **Consider Contempt Question**

The members of the Commission held a session at Springfield March 12, at which a definite program was made. The Commission also debated a question which



arose as a result of the three days of hearings. That was the question of compelling the heads of mercantile firms to make public their net earnings or whether refusal should result in contempt proceedings.

Members of the Commission also planned to pair votes in the state senate so as to arrange a busy schedule of hearings, conferences and meetings.

"We had a distinct purpose in calling the officials of the larger stores as the first step in our work," said Chairman O'Hara. "If we had started quietly on some of the smaller angles it would have been said that the 'big ones' were not to be touched. It was our desire to dispel all possibility of such an impression."

## **Chapter X**

### **INVESTIGATION IN PEORIA**

Wage conditions in Peoria, the second city of Illinois, were investigated on the spot by the Senate Commission at a hearing Saturday, March 15. The inquiry was held at the Jefferson Hotel and some twenty witnesses who had been subpoenaed appeared to testify.

Lieutenant Governor O'Hara and other members of the Commission declared this to have been the most important hearing so far in its investigation of the causes for moral delinquency of women and their barter in open market.

The hearing went farther than any previous one, said the Commissioners, to establish definitely the scope of the inquiry in terms of actual conditions and to make concrete the paths in which the search must be made.

#### **Finds Conditions the Same**

Among the things it was considered the Peoria session established are the following:

1. The same wage situation prevails in all principal cities of the state, girls being paid wages amounting to about one-half the figure established as the starvation line when they begin work and fully a third of women employees being at or beneath this line.

2. Stories of the downfall of girls are exactly the same

in the smaller city as they are in Chicago, and the same causes underlie wrecked girlhood everywhere.

3. Big cities, like Chicago, are centers to which smaller cities send erring girls; smaller cities draw, in the same relation, girls from still smaller towns and the country.

4. What the Commission considers the first absolutely honest testimony from girls of the underworld was given, and it named exactly the same causes as learned medical testimony—weakened nervous systems and abatement of the powers of resistance through poverty, longing for comradeship and mistaken affection.

5. Influence of big Chicago business men, direct and indirect, guides smaller town merchants into the same business dealings and viewpoint of employers.

### The Suggestive Song

After directing much of its examination to the question of wages paid to women and girls employed the committee turned its attention to another subject—one that in the course of the investigation has come to be regarded as one of the principal contributory causes to the prevalence of vice among young girls—the smut song and suggestive music. More than half a dozen chorus girls appearing at the local theatres were called to give testimony regarding the smut song. The committee had received information that the girls had been compelled to sing songs of the highly suggestive type in their work on the stage in order to retain their places.

### List of Witnesses

The witnesses who appeared before the committee included the following:

## 122 THE GIRL'S FIGHT FOR A LIVING

Frank Young, manager of Woolworth & Co., 5 and 10 cent store.

Henry Block, president of Schipper & Block, department store.

H. H. Given of the Given cloak house.

Thomas Grier, president of Clark & Co., department store.

P. A. Bergner of Bergner & Co.

Frank Bush, manager of Bergner & Co.

Edward C. Heidrich, president of the Peoria Cordage Company.

W. G. Putnam, proprietor of a 5 and 10 cent store.

W. J. Ross, manager of Putnam's store.

William E. Persons, general manager of Larkin & Co., soap manufacturers.

Henry Kuch, president of the Stuber & Kuch factory.

Georgia Hall, proprietor of a resort at 229 North Washington street.

M. C., nineteen years old; C. S., seventeen years old, and P. J., eighteen years old, members of theatrical troupes.

Dr. Eugene Cohn, superintendent of the State Hospital for the Insane at Peoria and an expert of wide renown, defined the causes of moral delinquency as previously cited. Then inmates of dives, casting aside the pretenses affected in Chicago or the desire to "make a showing," talked straight across the table, arraigned social and economic conditions and corroborated in the language of the woman of the street the doctor's testimony.

One girl, who gave her initials as G. B., and whose testimony was considered uncolored and the first honest declaration of its kind, said, among other things:

"Domestics are treated worse than dogs or horses.

"Girls are considered machines, to be wound up and given no more consideration until they are run down.

"Men take advantage of every weakness of a girl, and some of these tempters are men of high reputation, with families.

"I went into a dive as a straight business proposition, to get a clean room, good food, sure shelter, better hours and just as much respect, in so far as any was shown me, as I received before. I'm saving money to help my mother and not because I want to be here."

### Comradeship is Sought

A woman who had kept a dive for twenty-two years said nine-tenths of the girls who went wrong did so because poverty had removed pleasure and comradeship and pleasant things from their lives, and because poverty also had weakened their powers of resistance.

Rev. Barlow C. Carpenter of Peoria protested to the Commission against its listening to the words of fallen girls, but he was criticized severely by the lieutenant governor and by a girl witness on the stand at the time. He was asked to step forward, but did not.

### Follow Chicago Advice

The influence of Chicago merchants, in so far as it concerned the kind of testimony that should be divulged to the Commission, appeared as soon as the hearing began, and it was admitted without hesitation by one witness, Henry C. Block, president of the Schipper & Block department store, which employs 297 girls and women, paying 124 of them less than \$8 a week.

Mr. Block told the Commission he had been advised by James Simpson, vice-president of Marshall Field & Co., of Chicago, that the latter's lawyer had declared the Commission had no right to demand that witnesses tell the profits made by their companies at any time. He said the name of the lawyer was Miller.

"After the Chicago hearing I happened to be in Chicago," testified Mr. Block. "I met Mr. Simpson for the first time. There came up in our talk reference to the vice inquiry. I told him I supposed the commissioners would visit Peoria, and wondered what I should do if I were asked the same questions Mr. Simpson had been asked. He told me his lawyer, Mr. Miller, had advised him this Commission had no right to demand the amount of profits; that such information might be obtained some other way. I must refuse to tell you what my profits are until I have talked with my lawyer."

### Girls Blame Low Wages

Expert testimony on why girls leave virtuous lives was heard by the Commission. Keepers and inmates of dives on the witness stand directly denied statements previously made by employers and said that low wages are responsible for most wrecked girlhood.

Dr. Eugene Cohn, of the Peoria State Hospital, said morality was a question of heredity and environment and substantiated statements of the women that low wages are a chief contributing cause of immorality.

Two girls from the state school at Geneva told how they had been led from virtuous lives in Peoria when they had insufficient funds to keep themselves from temptation and the lures held out to them by unscrupulous men.



One, weeping on the witness stand, was excused. Lieutenant-Governor O'Hara applied the same rule as in Chicago, that girls' names be suppressed.

### **Parents Also Responsible**

In the opinion of the commissioners, freely expressed, at least one Peoria merchant made a better showing in support of wages less than the "starvation line" figure of \$8 than had been made heretofore, although the Commission refuted his testimony by other questions. He was Carl Block, manager of the store whose head had been advised in Chicago not to tell profits. He said he felt that an employer was morally responsible for his help, but that parents also were responsible. He said girls living at home needed less to live upon than girls adrift.

"Why," interrupted Lieutenant Governor O'Hara, "do you consider there is some sort of divine providence that lessens the cost of food in a home or that relieves every one from paying rent or car fare or clothing?"

### **Society to Blame Too**

The witness said he considered that girls who had to go out and make money other than paid in the store, in order to live, were less efficient than those well paid, but he differentiated between the girl who got that "difference" from her father, mother or brother, and her who must get it in devious ways. Just because homes were poor, the witness reasoned, and as long as beginners or inefficient girls were unable to earn the suggested minimum of \$8, he did not consider it right that they should become "wards" of business.

"These girls," said Mr. Block, "have a right to live

and to the things that enable them to live. But if society has left their parents unable to care for them while they are engaged in a 'business schooling,' one might call it, then society should make up for it in specialization schools. There should be provided by the public a means whereby girls should have opportunity to learn to be self-supporting. Not to provide this leaves either to the parent, often too poor herself, or to the merchants the necessity of paying for the training. The employer is not to blame because the girl has to go out to work; he is entitled to receive for his pay services worth that amount."

#### Minimum Like Chicago

Wages in Peoria run much as they were found to run in Chicago. Minimums of \$4, \$4.50 and \$5 are paid to beginners and errand girls.

William E. Persons, manager of the Larkin Company, soap and toilet article manufacturers, said the 316 girls he employed were paid at those wages for beginners, and up to \$17 after years of service.

Frank G. Young, manager of a 5 and 10 cent store, said his store could pay an \$8 minimum without so seriously depreciating profits as to harm investors. The highest salary paid in his store was \$10.

State penitentiaries were blamed by Edward C. Heidrich, president of the Peoria Cordage Company, for the small profits and the precarious nature of his business, and the inability to pay more than \$5 as a minimum. He said Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Indiana, Kansas, Missouri and Michigan jails were his competitors. He thought a girl should have \$8 a week as a minimum.

Arthur Heidrich, a son of the previous witness, said that while at college he made an "extensive" investigation of why girls went wrong, and was convinced it was because of their first drink, divorce laws or forgotten marriage promises.

### Sad Stories of Girls

"P," a young girl, testified she was led astray while employed in the Larkin soap factory. "My parents are poor," she said, "and I started out to earn my own living. I met a man who told me how I could earn more money. I had to divide the money with him."

At this point in her recital she gave way to tears and was excused.

"C. S." touched the hearts of her hearers when she told of having tried to remain honest on \$3 a week, working seven days a week and fourteen hours each day.

"My employer, who is now in the penitentiary, induced me to go wrong when I told him I could not live on \$3 a week."

"M. C." attributed her downfall to a small wage and the necessity of supporting herself and her widowed mother. "I was getting \$3 a week," said the girl, "and I found this insufficient for the support of my mother and myself. When I appealed to my employer he laughed at me and invited me to enter upon the life I now am following. I did."

The girl's former employer was said to be one of the largest employers in Peoria, but his name was withheld by Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara in the absence of corroboration of the girl's story.

"C. S.'s" story was practically the same. "When I

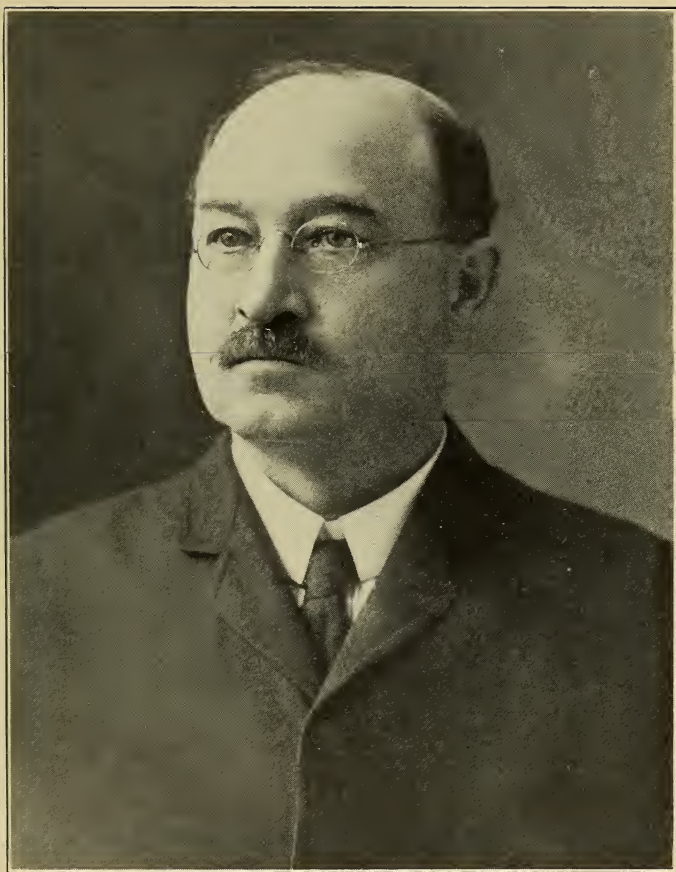
was fifteen years old," she said, "I found work in a candy store. My employer worked his will by threatening to discharge me. Afterwards he proposed that I flirt with young men who patronized the store. 'It will help business,' he said. I was forced to divide my earnings from this source with my employer."

This girl now is in the Florence Crittenton Home in Peoria.

### Argues Against Minimum Wage

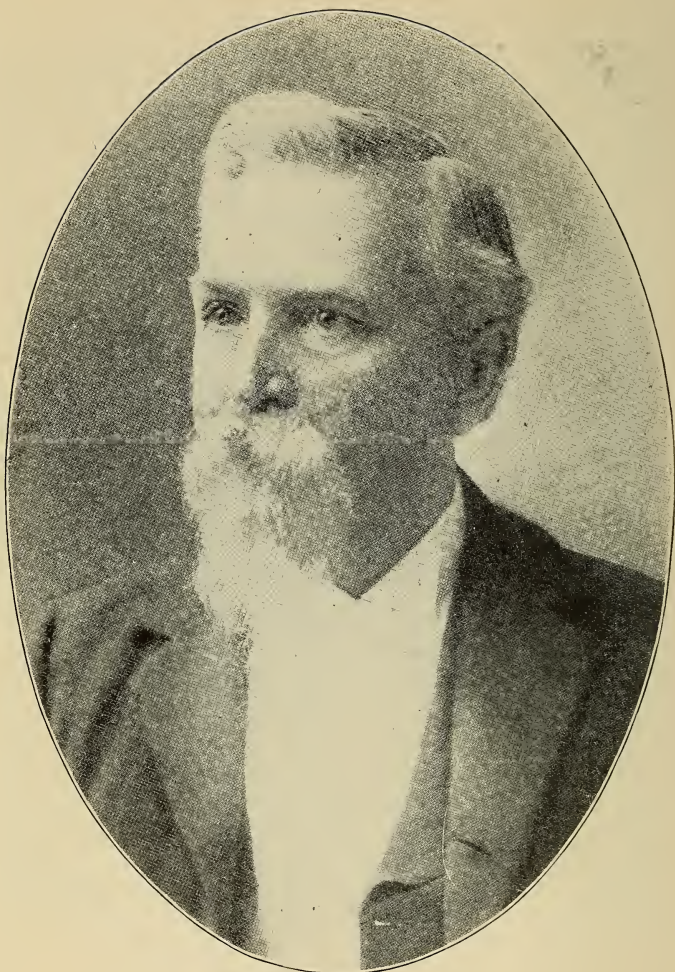
A new argument against a minimum wage—that it would drive many necessarily poorly paid girls to the street—was advanced by W. J. Reese, manager of a 5 and 10 cent store owned by W. G. Putnam. He employs twenty-seven girls, more than half of whom receive \$4 weekly.

"I believe the low wage justifiable," he said. "My store is practically a kindergarten for girls who later secure \$5 and \$6 jobs elsewhere. If you pass an \$8 minimum wage law what will become of my girls? I can't pay such a price for their services, and they will be forced on the street. My profits last year averaged about \$4 weekly."



HON. WILLIAM T. HAINES  
Governor of Maine  
Who Strongly Favors the Establishment by Law  
of a Living Wage for Women.





WM. HODGES MANN

Governor of Virginia.

He is a supporter of the Minimum Wage Campaign, believing in  
"Good Wages and Good Work."



## Chapter XI

### MANY GOVERNORS CO-OPERATE

When the Illinois Vice Commission visited President Wilson in Washington the members were able to show that the governors of thirty-two states of the Union had promised more or less active co-operation in securing a minimum wage for women as one important step in the suppression of white slavery.

In an effort to learn the views of the governors on the questions involved, the enterprising Chicago Tribune, "the world's greatest newspaper," wired all the state executives early in March. Among the replies received were the following, which make interesting reading for all concerned in the problem:

#### Governor of New York

In reply to your telegram just received, I desire to say that I favor a minimum wage law for women along lines that shall be just and fair to all concerned. Have written Lieut. Gov. O'Hara that I will co-operate in every way in my power to help stamp out white slave traffic.

WILLIAM SULZER, Albany, N. Y.

---

#### Governor of Maine

I favor a national law. Shall be glad to co-operate

in any way I can with Lieut. Gov. O'Hara to prevent or break up the white slave traffic in this country.

WILLIAM T. HAINES, Augusta, Me.

---

### **Governor of Kansas**

We favor minimum wage for women of \$6, with elastic provision for apprentices and physically disabled, both in state and nation. Such a bill passed one branch of our legislation now in session, but was defeated in the other by a scant vote. Kansas has passed the white slave bill and it is now a law. Will be pleased to co-operate with Illinois officials for national legislation of like character.

GEORGE H. HODGES, Topeka, Kas.

---

### **Governor of Ohio**

I am in favor of a minimum wage scale for women. Action would doubtless be necessary by both the states and federal government. Co-operation with any friends of the movement will be given by me. There will be introduced in our legislature tomorrow an administration bill compelling mercantile houses to file statements of hours of labor and compensation for women.

JAMES M. COX, Columbus, O.

---

### **Governor of Wisconsin**

I believe in a minimum wage law for women, the amount of the wage in each case to be fixed by a commission under a general legislative rule. Upon this and other like subjects a national law is preferable to a state statute, but if action by the general government cannot be had, a state law is better than none. In reply to Lieut. Gov.

O'Hara's request, I have already replied that such a deal as he advocates is now pending in the Wisconsin legislature and likely will be enacted into law.

FRANCIS E. MCGOVERN, Madison, Wis.

---

### Governor of Virginia

Your first question has not been much discussed in Virginia. Conditions here are different from those in Chicago. I have not given the matter careful consideration and therefore do not answer. There is little, if any "white slavery" in Virginia, as I understand the term, but I will co-operate in any movement to prevent or suppress it. It is a crime which society should not tolerate.

WILLIAM HODGES MANN, Richmond, Va.

---

### Governor of Mississippi

I favor both state and national law fixing \$8 minimum wage scale for women. Willing to co-operate with O'Hara in stamping out traffic in girls known as white slavery.

EARL BREWER, Jackson, Miss.

---

### Governor of Florida

Favor all needed remedies to eradicate white slavery traffic. Have not had time to give study to question of minimum wages for women.

PARK TRAMMELL, Tallahassee, Fla.

---

### Governor of Delaware

The time has passed for the presentation of new legislation to the general assembly of Delaware, but I am

interested in both subjects you mention in your telegram, just received. I shall be glad to co-operate with the Illinois commission to stamp out the white slave traffic.

CHARLES R. MILLER, Dover, Del.

---

### **Governor of Minnesota**

I heartily favor legislation proposed by Lieut.-Gov. O'Hara and have transmitted his request for co-operation to the legislature now in session, with a favorable recommendation.

A. O. EBERHART, St. Paul, Minn.

---

### **Governor of Iowa**

I favor a national minimum wage law and will co-operate with Lieut.-Gov. O'Hara. Have already sent message to legislature.

GEORGE W. CLARKE, Des Moines, Ia.

---

### **Governor of Wyoming**

I favor a minimum wage law for women, but wage should depend largely upon locality, as a man or woman can live much cheaper in the country than in one of the great cities. I should think a national law with minimum wage that could be increased in the several states where necessary would be the best way to meet the situation.

JOSEPH M. CAREY, Cheyenne, Wyo.

---

### **Governor of Montana**

I am in favor of a minimum wage law for women, but am not prepared to say what wage should be fixed. It

seems that the matter would be better reached through state law. Shall be glad to lend my assistance in any way to stamp out white slavery traffic.

S. V. STEWART, Helena, Mont.

### **Governor of Washington**

I believe that women should receive reasonable compensation for labor performed, and not be discriminated against because of sex, but so much depends upon the provisions of any minimum wage law that it would be necessary to examine its provisions before stating my position. I am strongly in favor of aggressive action to stamp out the white slave traffic.

ERNEST LISTER, Olympia, Wash.

### **Governor of California**

Strongly do I favor a minimum wage for women. The exact sum I could not fix, but investigations such as are now being carried on in Illinois should be prosecuted in every state to enable us to determine upon a wage just to the employer and which shall be a living wage for the employee. I favor action both nationally and in the various states. I will gladly co-operate in any legitimate investigation leading to proper legislation and which has for its design the fixing by law of "a minimum wage for women that is a living wage and the stamping out of white slavery."

HIRAM W. JOHNSON, Sacramento, Cal.

### **Governor of South Carolina**

Am in favor of giving women anything they want and protecting them under all conditions and circumstances.

The protection of the virtue of the women of the south is our first duty, and the determination to protect the virtue of our women is our greatest heritage, and the south will never prove untrue to her trust. This should be true of the nation.

COLE L. BLEASE, Columbia, S. C.

---

### Governor of Arizona

I unhesitatingly go on record as favoring a minimum wage for women. While I have not adequate statistics on which to base an estimate, I believe conditions in Arizona would justify an act fixing the minimum wage for women at \$10 a week. Such legislation should, in my opinion, be secured by unity of action among the states of the union, since the cost of living varies so appreciably in different parts of the country. Since the "white slave" traffic is in no slight degree fostered by a wage scale disproportionate to the high cost of living, as well as by insanitary and immoral surroundings of women workers, a minimum wage law and legislation for the betterment of industrial conditions should precede any concerted movement to stamp out this widespread evil. No less essential of course, is a drastic law, strictly enforced, against the inhuman creatures who lead women, for pecuniary gain, into paths of shame. While the "white slave" problem has not as yet assumed formidable proportions in Arizona, I realize the necessity of going forth to intercept and eliminate, as far as possible, an evil which grows with increasing population and which strikes directly at the American home. I am heartily in accord with Lieut.-Gov. O'Hara's plan for state commissions to unite in fight-



ing the "white slave" traffic, and will gladly co-operate with them.

GEO. W. P. HUNT, Phoenix, Ariz.

---

### Governor of Oregon

I am decidedly in favor of minimum wage legislation for women. I recommended such a law to our legislature at its recent session and aided in securing its passage. Oregon has thus taken an advanced stand in the matter. What is a fair minimum wage is a question more or less local in its nature and can only be determined after a careful investigation of conditions and the cost of living in each state. My office will gladly co-operate to the fullest extent with Lieut. Gov. O'Hara in his great battle against organized vice and greed and in behalf of the working girls of this nation.

OSWALD WEST, Salem, Ore.

---

### Governor of Michigan

I am in favor of a minimum wage for women. Prefer full wage. Will do all in my power to co-operate with O'Hara in conducting investigation relative to the "white slavery" traffic.

WOODBIDGE N. FERRIS, Port Huron, Mich.

---

### Governor of New Mexico

Message received. Gov. W. C. McDonald ill and in bed now. Says he will gladly co-operate with Lieut.-Gov. O'Hara.

SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR, Santa Fe, N. M.

### Governor of Utah

A minimum wage bill is pending in the legislature, with the rate fixed at \$1.25 a day. It doubtless will pass and become a law. Conditions here are not so urgent as in the crowded centers of population, but I shall be pleased to co-operate with Lieut.-Gov. O'Hara in his worthy effort.

WILLIAM SPRY, Salt Lake City, Utah.

---

### Matter Now National Issue

"This matter has now become a national issue," said Chairman O'Hara of the Illinois Commission, when the governors had been heard from. "The testimony of merchants who have appeared before us is that a national minimum wage is better than state laws. If carried forward at this particular time I think we can secure national legislation. In the course of ten years we might not obtain such a sympathetic public interest as has been aroused at this time.

"I think a spirit of co-operation and sane conservatism will bring national and uniform state legislation. There is no doubt of the widespread interest the Illinois investigation has aroused. The Commission has heard from nearly every big city in the country, and many have asked that we visit them. From advices we have received I do not doubt that within a week minimum wage legislation will be introduced in every state assembly in the country."

### Massachusetts Shows the Way

Governor Foss of Massachusetts, in a letter to the author, dated March 25, 1913, calls attention to the fact that in 1911 the Massachusetts Legislature created, in

accordance with the governor's recommendations, a commission to investigate the subject of minimum wages. Also, the Legislature of 1912, continuing this subject, created a permanent commission to report upon the industrial situation in cases where the average wage was alleged to be less than it should be.

"This latter commission," says Governor Foss, "is locally known as the Minimum Wage Commission, but it has not so far been invested with mandatory powers. It can only investigate and report publicly as to the conditions which it discovers in any field toward which its activities have been directed by petition or otherwise."

As to Governor Foss's personal views, he feels that while this is a very important subject, "it is necessary to proceed along these lines with extreme caution, having in view the fact that an arbitrary imposition of a minimum wage for women might possibly result in the substitution of men, thus throwing large numbers of women out of work.

"It is hoped that when legislation is finally adjusted to these conditions, minimum wage scales may take into account the relative needs of both men and women so that there may be no serious disturbance of the industrial field.

"A further matter of the utmost importance appears to be the uniform consideration of these subjects in the various states concerned. The arbitrary imposition of a minimum wage scale in one state, now an industrial competitor of another state (the latter state not possessing such legislation), would of course occasion a disturbance of conditions as between these two states."

### Governor McGovern's Views

In a message to the Wisconsin Legislature, January 9, 1913, Governor Francis E. McGovern discussed the minimum wage, and said:

"The Supreme Court of the United States and several state courts have repeatedly recognized that inequality of bargaining power constitutes a reasonable ground on which the state may aid the weaker party. For example, in the execution of judgments, Wisconsin was the first state to adopt a wage exemption, providing in its constitution of sixty-five years ago for protection of the working man's 'necessary comforts of life.' At that time the law was generally regarded as an infringement of the rights of property and was denounced as class legislation. But Wisconsin was soon followed by nearly every other state in the Union, and the courts everywhere eventually came to recognize wage exemptions as matters of sound public policy, justifying broad and liberal interpretation.

"Modern industrial conditions have brought this same question of the 'necessary comforts of life' to the front in a new form. Great corporations employing hundreds of scattered tenement house workers have a superior bargaining power that is already recognized by the state in its law prohibiting the employer from sending out work to a tenement house that is not licensed; for if he be permitted without regulation or control to send out work to the homes, he can secure free light, rent and heat besides the advantage of defenceless competition among out-workers and the opportunity to evade the women's and children's hours of labor law by adding the time at home to the regular period of employment in the factories.

Undoubtedly there are other like cases of depressed wages which investigation will in time reveal.

"A bill providing for minimum wages was introduced in the legislature of this state two years ago but failed of passage. This class of legislation, while reported to be wholesome and effective in Australia and England, is so novel to our system of jurisprudence and involves such difficult problems of administration that the legislature should proceed with caution respecting it. But we should not again fail to do anything whatever in the matter. In the beginning it might be best to make the idea effective in a limited field, such as the wages of women in the most oppressive occupations. At the same time the Industrial Commission might be authorized to experiment with and develop methods of investigation and administration adapted to the enforcement of such a law. No enterprise in Wisconsin is dependent for success upon the underpaid labor of women, although there may be establishments that are willing to exploit this class of economically defenceless workers. They should not be permitted to do so. We should have a carefully drawn law fixing a minimum wage for women. To this proposition the platform of the party in power has pledged its members. Legislation within these limits should therefore now be framed."

### Good Wages and Good Work

Governor Mann of Virginia writes under date of March 21, 1913, as follows:

"Dr. Thomas H. Russell, Chicago.

"Dear Sir:—I have always believed in good wages and good work. I think that the amount paid should



never be less than will permit the person receiving it to live comfortably. I believe this is in the interest of both the employer and the employee. Very truly yours,

“WM. HODGES MANN, Governor.”

### **Believes in a Minimum Wage**

Governor Earl Brewer of Mississippi writes as follows March 21, 1913:

“The investigation in Illinois brings out in bold relief the necessity of safe-guarding the women and girls who labor for their daily bread. Virtue is too priceless a possession in woman to be taken from her either by the wiles of designing men or by the necessity of gaining her daily bread. I believe in a minimum wage for women, and this minimum should be fixed at not less than Eight Dollars a week,—enough, at any rate, to give her the necessities of life and some of its comforts. I firmly believe that a woman ought not to be required by any employer to labor for Six Dollars a week and required to maintain herself.

“Our entire country needs to be aroused on this subject, and it is being aroused as never before.”

### **The Aim in Arizona**

Hon. George W. P. Hunt, Governor of Arizona, writes the author as follows, under date of March 24, 1913:

“I am of the opinion that a minimum wage of \$10 per week, with reasonable limit of hours of work, should be established for women. That is our aim here in Arizona, and it is rightly considered one of the most important things for progressive government to deal with.

“To those who have had practical experience with the



cost of living the argument is closed and judgment rendered as soon as the truth is known about the prevailing wage minimum. To such persons any argument to the effect that \$5 to \$8 a week is enough for the support of a working girl is a waste of words and time. The girl or woman who supports herself cannot provide enough to eat and wear out of such sums. That the white slave traffic thrives on such a condition I cannot doubt.

“What impresses me greatly in the testimony offered in Chicago recently is the revelation that large employers who pay inadequate wages to their women employees contribute thousands upon thousands of dollars annually to charity. This contribution to charity of course comes out of the profits, and indicates that the employers can afford to give away a large part of the wealth produced by the poorly paid girls. The thought that occurs here is that charity might well begin at home, and that it would take a vastly practical turn if put into the shape of additional wages. Charity dispensed by large employers the way it is now really is given by the underpaid producers of huge profits, who are not consulted about it and who cannot afford to be so generous. The employers get all the credit and glory, yet in the minds of thinking citizens the glory and respect accorded them would be much more substantial and worth while if they would cut off all of their gifts to outside charity solicitors, and pay every woman employee enough to insure her comfort and self-respect. This would be plain justice, not charity, and would perform a social service far greater than what results from organized charity. The latter represents misfortune that has happened or mischief that has been

done, while the former might prevent the mischief in the first place. One of the logical tasks in the work for human progress is to reduce the need for charity, and here is a practical method that would be sure to show results in that direction. If we attack the cause of misfortune we shall have less reason to feel concerned over effects."

### Women Imposed Upon

Governor S. V. Stewart of Montana writes from Helena, March 26, as follows:

"Recent investigations in Illinois and other sections of the country tend to make firmer my advocacy of a minimum wage for working women. Since the days of Eden, when Adam attempted to shift the blame to Eve's shoulders, woman has been imposed upon by man, and today her treatment at the hands of those who employ her in the trades and other lines is in very many instances the refinement of cruelty. Forced to earn her own living, the employer all too frequently takes advantage of her situation to compel her to accept a wage much smaller than he would be forced to pay a man for the same work.

"What the minimum wage should be would, of course, vary as dictated by differing conditions in the several States and communities. It is inhuman to attempt to figure in terms of pennies just how little a woman can exist upon. The owner of a horse does not figure thus in the care of his dumb servant. The minimum wage should be ample to permit the wage-earner to live in at least comparative comfort. She would then be removed from some of the temptations that assail her under existing conditions."

## Chapter XII

### CONDITIONS IN WASHINGTON

On their way to Washington the Illinois Vice Commissioners called on Governor J. K. Tener of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg, Pa., on Friday, March 21. Governor Tener assured them that he would send a special message to the Pennsylvania legislature urging it to take steps to stamp out the vice traffic and to study the subjects relating to vice with a view to co-operating with sister states in a national movement.

"I shall be glad to recommend to the legislature this whole matter with a special recommendation to investigate and adopt such measures as will stamp out the white slave traffic. It appeals at once to every one and is a traffic that no human being should be engaged in," said the governor.

#### O'Hara Tells of Illinois' Work

Lieut. Governor Barratt O'Hara was the chief speaker for the Illinois Commission, Senators Beall and Juul supplementing his remarks. All said they wished to correct the impression that the Commission seeks to reflect upon the purity of America's working women, but it desires to find out whence come the victims of vice and to take all possible means to stop the traffic.

Chairman O'Hara said the Commission desires to re-

move the menaces surrounding girls who have to earn their living.

In closing the conference Senator Beall outlined what had been done in the country in the way of minimum wage legislation and workmen's compensation, saying that "in Massachusetts a law providing for the wage had worked well and such statutes had been successfully operated in England and other European countries."

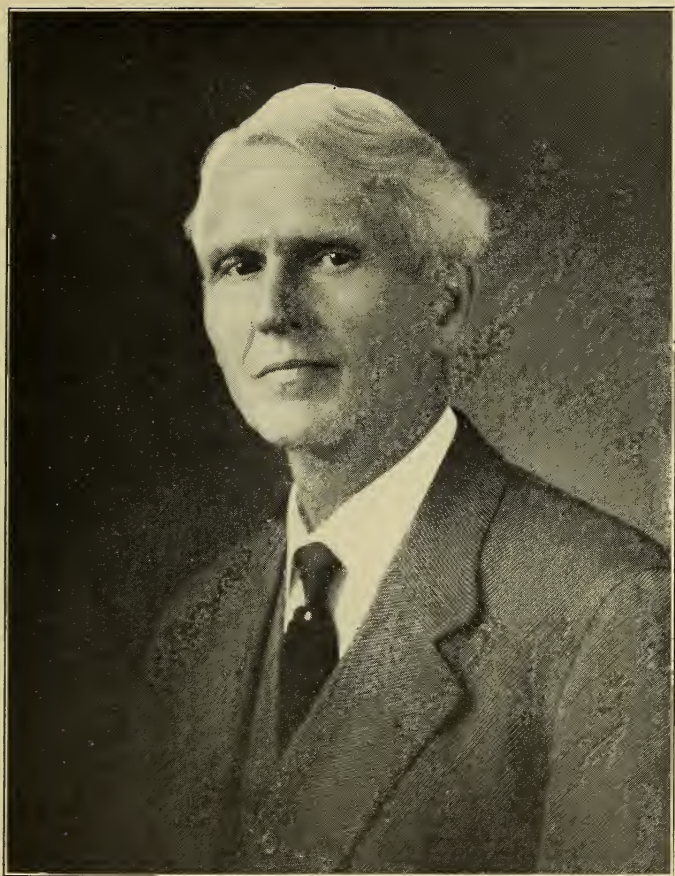
### At the White House

On their arrival in Washington, the members of the Commission were received by the President at the White House shortly before noon, Saturday, March 22. Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara, opened the presentation of their case.

"This Commission was appointed to make a study of womanhood and conditions that menace womanhood," Mr. O'Hara said. "We would like to make recommendations that you call a meeting of representatives of the different states to discuss the matter of state laws and also perhaps of national laws which will remove from American womanhood some of the menaces which it now must face.

"This meeting should be attended by the members of the various commissions which have been appointed and are to be appointed by the various states and we would like to have it called in Washington some time in the fall or, for that matter, in the summer.

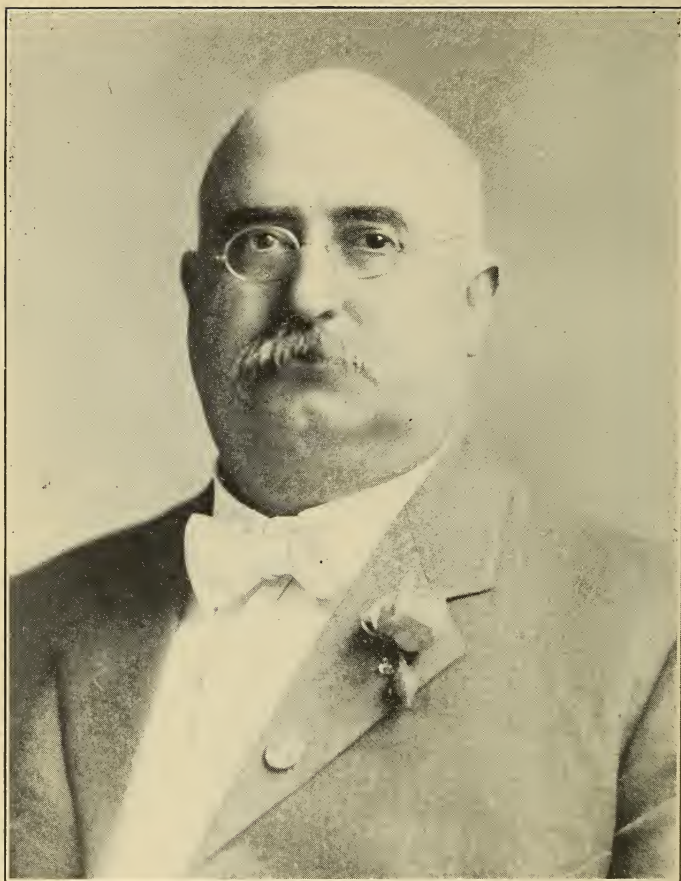
"Besides the members of these commissions it ought to be attended by the governors of the states as well as delegates selected by these governors and by the mayors of some of the principal cities.



GOVERNOR WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS  
of Michigan.

He is a firm believer in the "full" wage and thinks minimum wage legislation worthy of consideration in the meantime.





HON. GEORGE W. P. HUNT

Governor of Arizona

Who says, "I am of the opinion that a minimum wage of \$10 per week, with reasonable limit of hours of work, should be established for women. That is our aim in Arizona."



"It should form a national commission to study all questions dealing with vice."

### **Beall Adds His Plea**

Senator Edmond Beall, who offered the resolution in the Illinois Senate creating the White Slave Commission, followed Mr. O'Hara.

"I spent four months in Europe," Mr. Beall said, "studying conditions in France, Holland, Germany and Belgium and came home impressed with the idea of the importance of this problem. Therefore, I offered the resolution which created this Commission. I believe in womanhood, motherhood and anti-suicide.

"I know of no one better than you who can call together the governors of the states to take up this problem. We already have the replies of thirty-two governors sanctioning our motives, and I believe if you call a meeting at this time the thing will be settled."

### **Juul Proposes Women's Homes**

Senator Niels Juul advanced the idea of national homes for women who are exposed to dangers when crossing state lines in search of work.

"The first thing impressed on us," he said, "was to make this matter a nation-wide movement. If the causes are studied and the cures applied only in Illinois it would mean a matter of injustice in the state. For instance, if the minimum wage law were to apply only in Illinois it would be an injustice to our manufacturers because of the competition of the states where they have no such thing.

"It seems to me that one thing the national govern-

ment can do is to establish in each great commercial center a home where women can be taken care of when they cross the state lines in search of employment.

"The government takes care of a pound of tobacco. It follows the commodity from Kentucky or Virginia across the state line and even counts the number of cigars made out of that pound of tobacco. If the national government can devote so much time to a pound of tobacco or a pound of butterine, it can surely devote some time to the care of womanhood traveling from one state to another.

"The need is so crying that if we were to attempt to tell you, Mr. President, how bad it is, as shown by the evidence we have taken, it would be unbelievable. The belief seems to have arisen that this Commission is studying merely the question of wages, but such is not the case, for it is going into all phases of the vice problem. The greater part of the data we have gathered is unprintable. It reveals conditions so horrible, so revolting, that most of the states need the strong arm of the national government back of the states to make any remedy effective."

This ended the presentation of the subject matter. President Wilson bowed his acknowledgment and asked the Commission to leave with him its recommendations, promising to give them his consideration.

### Public Hearing in Washington

At the New Willard Hotel in the afternoon of the same day a hearing was held at which suggestions were contributed by experts of national reputation who are identified with reform organizations of various kinds. The room was crowded with social workers, doctors, investi-

gators and officials of welfare associations, and the problem was discussed from all sides. Several experts came from outside cities to attend. It was perhaps the most notable gathering of its kind ever held.

Chief among the manifold causes and cures relative to immorality, the following were presented by various speakers:

### Remedies for Vice

1. Establishment of the whipping-post for men who lead girls astray, as well as for white slave traffickers, as in England.

2. Tax on bachelors, Senator Beall's idea being indorsed by Dr. W. C. Woodward, health officer of the District of Columbia.

3. Instruction of the young in sex physiology and hygiene.

4. Stronger state laws against seduction and kindred evils.

5. Improvement of housing conditions throughout the country, particularly in the crowded tenement districts of the cities.

6. Crusade of education that will change the attitude of men toward women.

7. Supervision of recreations and amusements.

8. Prohibition of the "unspeakable dance" and the obscene popular song.

9. Appointment of women police and adoption of woman suffrage.

10. Vocational training that will enable girls to be worth higher wages when they leave school.

11. Uplifting of standards in the home; better parental supervision.

12. Single standard of morals for both sexes to be established by a campaign of education.

13. Minimum wage laws—on this there was a strong division of opinion among the experts.

### Causes

Starvation wages.

Breaking down of the moral fiber of the nation in general.

Suggestive plays, pictures, dances and songs.

Lack of proper parental supervision.

A swing from the standards of a generation ago that has gone to the extreme, liberty being license.

Attitude of mankind toward womanhood, some of the experts saying that 90 per cent of immorality is instigated by men.

Lack of care on the part of parents in picking persons to take charge of their children.

Joy riding and rag dancing.

Love of display and finery.

The mashing evil.

### Assails Society Girls

As to the example set by "high society" as a contributing cause to immorality among the poorer people, this phase was not gone into as extensively as had been planned. One expert, however, Mrs. J. P. S. Neleigh, head of Neighborhood House, caused a stir.

"To regulate joy riding and 'rag' dancing is more important than a minimum wage," she said. "Joy riding is one great evil. We cannot do too much against 'rag' dancing, for the girl who does 'rag' dancing is playing with fire.

"We have no trouble in barring it among the girls who attend our home. I have had more trouble with society girls who have come down and volunteered their services."

Asto the connection between low wages and immorality, a question to which much attention was devoted, the majority of the experts expressed the opinion that low wages constitute an insignificant factor, compared with other influences, in making girls morally delinquent, this coinciding with the finding of the bureau of labor, which in its report said that as a direct influence low wages formed a negligible factor, while as an indirect influence their effect was disastrous.

### **Opens Inquiry at Hotel**

When Lieutenant-Governor O'Hara called the session to order at 2 o'clock the red room of the Willard Hotel was well filled with men and women identified with reform movements. Mr. O'Hara introduced Senator Juul, dean of the Illinois Senate, and attorney of the Commission, to outline the work already done.

Mr. Juul described the hearings in Chicago and how the inquiry rapidly developed until it was essential to success to make it a nation-wide movement.

"It has started to develop into a crusade and inquiry that will cover the entire country," he said. "President Wilson promised his support. Governor. Tener has pledged his aid."

### **Father of Eleven Explains**

Senator Beall presented some of the aspects of the inquiry.

"I am the father of nine boys and twin daughters," he said, "and always have been interested in the protection of womanhood. Our inquiry is not confined to low wages alone, but that impression has been made because the rest of the data we have gathered has been so revolting that it could not be printed.

"In Illinois the work already has accomplished good. Edward Hillman, a department store owner, told me that he would not begrudge \$1,000 for what he learned at the hearings."

"Before starting, let me say that this Commission never has attacked the morality of the American working woman," said Mr. O'Hara. "They are as pure a class of women as the world has ever seen."

After these preliminaries, which were listened to with great attention, the Commission began to call on the experts it had invited to testify.

### **An International Expert**

Ardeen Foster, international commissioner of the British Federation for the Emancipation of Sweated Women, Girls and White Slave Victims, spoke of the whipping-post law in England.

"As a result of this flogging law, or 'cat's' law, white slavers are becoming fewer," he said.

"A man flogged once will never come back. In London there are 2,500 beings in the shape of men, bullies, procurers, who carry on white slavery as an organized industry."

Mr. Foster spoke of investigations in the slums of London as a newspaper reporter.



### Hold Low Wages to Blame

"I found that at least 60 per cent of the fallen women in London owed their fall to starvation wages," he said. "Before I left London one night I found a woman about to jump off London Bridge. I stopped her and asked questions. She told me that although a married woman she had been for a year the mistress of four men. Starvation wages were the cause of her wrongdoing."

"In how many cases are the men at fault?" asked Mr. O'Hara.

"At least 20 per cent is the fault of man," replied Mr. Foster. "I am going to stand for parliament, and if elected the first bill I shall introduce will be one giving thirty lashes to every seducer, treating them like the panders."

This declaration was applauded.

### Some Official Testimony

Stanley W. Finch, special commissioner of the United States government in the suppression of white slavery, was questioned at length.

"Some 500 men have been sent to jail for violation of the white slave laws," Mr. Finch said. "We are now making a card index investigation of the causes originally leading to the downfall of women."

"Would a minimum wage aid?" asked Senator Juul.

"It does not appear that in any large percentage of these white slave cases the crime would have been prevented by a minimum wage. We find that the great majority of white slaves come from domestic service.

"One remarkable feature of these cases is that many victims are wives. I looked over 100 cases, and in 75

per cent the victims were wives of the traffickers. The most common method of the trafficker is to get his victims through marriage or the promise of marriage.

"We have estimated the number of traffickers at 2,500 men. This is perhaps underestimated. We have the records of 1,500 men.

"I am happy to say that the work of the government has already decreased materially the traffic in whiteslaves.

"For lack of funds we have not yet undertaken much work in Chicago and New York, but we hope to this year."

In reply to questions by H. Martin Williams, Mr. Finch spoke of spurious advertisements that lure girls from rural districts.

"Unfortunately," he said, "there is no law preventing the use of the mails for bogus advertisements offering lucrative employment. Many victims are lured by such 'ads.'

"The states have inadequate laws on seduction. There should be a remedy.

"The great trouble is the wrong attitude of men toward women. They have the wrong attitude and have so much money to tempt women. Until we can educate men to appreciate the enormity of their offenses, we will have the problem before us regardless of the wage. A minimum wage alone would not be a remedy."

### Would Hang Some Offenders

"What do you think of the whipping-post for seduction?" asked the chairman.

"Most will agree with me that hanging is none too good for such offenders. I think the whipping-post beneficial."

"As to mashing; does it cause white slavery?" asked Senator Juul.

"I agree as to the enormity of that offense; it is the preliminary to seduction," said Mr. Finch.

Mr. Finch brought out that all boys and girls should be warned against mashing, as such action, however innocent, puts girls in an attitude where they can be approached by the "cadets."

### **Believes in Segregation**

Segregation was discussed by Captain Hollenberger of the District of Columbia police, in charge of the segregated district. Senator Juul questioned him.

"I believe that a woman who would follow the life of evil should be segregated and not allowed to ply her vocation in residential portions of the city," said Captain Hollenberger. "She shouldn't be hounded, but uplifted if possible.

"In the District of Columbia no woman is admitted to the restricted district unless known as a professional. We have fifty-two houses—350 inmates. We have a booking system and we keep a record of every girl in the houses. Most of the inmates come from other cities. The number has decreased more than half in ten years."

"Do you keep a list of the patrons?" Mrs. Brayton Ransom asked.

"No, madam," replied the captain.

"I think that would be the most essential," said the questioner.

"Perhaps it would be a good thing, but the list would be too long," the captain said.

### Living Wages Differ

Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, chairman of the welfare department of the National Civic Federation, was asked her opinion of wages as connected with immorality.

"Minimum wages on which girls can live respectably differ in cities," she said. "In Chicago and New York, I believe it is \$8 or \$9. In Washington it is less. In the shops here the proprietors get girls who live at home.

"The betterment of housing conditions would improve morals. I do not say it would make a bad person good, but good housing would aid in increasing decency.

"I doubt very much if a minimum wage would make the whole world good. I think education is what is needed. I think we need it in the schools. I think that one trouble lies in the character of the persons parents put in charge of their children. It is in lowering of standards and ideals that the danger lurks.

"I think the reaction from the strict days of our parents has gone too far. There is too much liberty; too much license. Parents don't know where children go. Too much automobiling and all that. I think most of all this must be done in the home. You never hear much about principles. Times have changed, standards have been altered."

### Sees Peril in Higher Wage

Training in the home was emphasized as one remedy for existing conditions by Mrs. Adolph Kahn, president of the Alliance of Jewish Women.

"From my experience I have found," she said, "that minimum wage was not the paramount factor at all. Little girls who work in stores and are glad to go home are not so liable as girls who get higher wages.

"Proper respect for mothers and sisters is the paramount question. Simply a matter of temptation and strength of resistance, a matter of being pursued and not being able to withstand. I do not believe minimum wage is the solution of this.

"The poor girl often has more resistance than the girl who has money. I have found that the girl on small wages often withstands temptations better than girls on higher wage. I think training in the home up to the time the girl is 16 and the training of the boys are the factors needed. Proper recreation is another."

### Gives Illegitimacy Figures

Vocational education as a remedy for one phase of the problem was advanced by Dr. W. C. Woodward, health officer of the District of Columbia.

"There were born in 1912," he said, "775 illegitimate children in Washington. That is 10.3 per cent of all reported births. The figures are not materially different from former years. Of all births in 1912 among white people, 2 per cent were illegitimate. One of every four children born to colored parents in Washington was illegitimate.

"The figures show that immoral practices began at an early age. According to figures they began before earning period arrives. We have had a birth to a 12-year-old mother already this year.

"The matter of wage is merely an index to the physical and moral stamina of the girl. I don't believe a minimum wage would materially aid unless it could be fixed in purchasing power and adapted to the needs of the recipients.

"We are turning out of our schools children who are

not able to earn enough to support themselves. It is the duty of states to see that girls get enough by fitting them to get enough. Apply the remedy to the schools so that young people will be equipped to be worth enough."

### Details Bachelor Tax Plan

Dr. Woodward urged the encouragement of early marriage among young men as one of the remedies for the social evil. He approved a suggestion by Senator Beall for laws placing a tax on bachelorhood, a graduated tax between the ages of 24 and 32, providing that all men over 32 years of age should pay an annual tax of \$100 as long as they remained unmarried. He added:

"Fully 90 per cent of the immorality is at the instigation of the man. We must educate the men to the gravity of their offense against the state."

The single standard of purity was advocated by Mrs. A. A. Birney, president of the Mothers' Congress.

"We must have that standard," she said. "It is only right for wives and mothers, and for men, too. How can it be obtained? Simply by educating the fathers and mothers to drill into the minds of their children the single standard of morals."

Robert S. Barrett, whose mother is head of the Florence Crittenton Circle, which cared for 20,000 girls in seventy-eight homes throughout the country, appeared before the Commission.

### Low Wage "Last Reason"

"Mrs. Barrett desires me to say low wages is one of the last reasons that have brought about immorality," he said. "The statement that no girls are allowed in



segregated districts unless they are professionals is wrong. One case came to our attention in which a woman sold her daughter into white slavery in the district in Washington within the last year."

"Why does your organization see no connection between low wages and immorality?" asked Mr. O'Hara.

"Because the statistics of the Florence Crittenton missions show that a majority of cases are of girls that have had higher wages."

"Who are your contributors in Chicago?" asked Senator Juul, "and are they employers?"

"No," said Mr. Barrett. "With seventy-eight homes I couldn't tell you right off who they are. Our views are not influenced by anything of that sort."

"Don't you conceive there is more vice among the poor than among the rich?" asked Senator Tossey.

"I do not."

Dr. Elnora Folkmar discussed the question of instruction in sex hygiene and physiology.

"I think a minimum wage a good thing, but not the only factor," she said. "The suggestive plays, the songs, dances, all hold dangers.

"Something will have to be done that will give us a better moral fiber. If we had a stronger moral fiber so that men would not patronize commercialized vice, these girls could not sell themselves."

Instances of low wages in Washington that astonished the committee were given by Miss Virginia Ransom, a suffrage leader. She spoke of girls who worked in laundries for \$2 and \$2.50 a week.

This testimony led to a discussion between Mrs.

Hopkins and Senator Juul. The senator asked several questions as to whether it wouldn't be well to start a movement in Washington to compel the payment of higher wages. Mrs. Hopkins held that the cure should go deeper.

"Educate the girls to be worth higher wages," she said. "That is the fundamental factor when the wage question is considered."

### **Mrs. Wiley Blames Low Pay**

Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, representing the National Consumers' League and the Housekeepers' Alliance, after outlining the work of those organizations, was questioned regarding her views on low wages and their connection with immorality.

"The league stands for a limited working day," she said. "I favor a minimum wage, and in my opinion there is a connection between low wages and immorality. I think that it is more difficult for a girl to resist temptation when she hasn't margin enough to get amusement and recreation.

"I believe we should have women police in every city and we should have votes for women. We can raise the age of consent. That would be one relief. Think of it! In some states a woman's body can be given away before she is 10 years old."

### **Contrast Charity and Wages**

"What do you consider a reasonable minimum wage?" asked Senator Beall.

"I should say \$8," was the answer.

"Do you think that any employer who will not pay a reasonable minimum wage should give anything away to charity?" asked Chairman O'Hara.

"I do not," said Mrs. Wiley.

"Well," said Mr. O'Hara, "in our hearings in Chicago an employer testified that his concern paid profits of 7 per cent and still had a surplus of \$2,700,000. He testified that it would cost \$75,000 to pay this minimum wage. Should he have paid the \$75,000, do you think?"

"That is my opinion," said Mrs. Wiley.

### **Would Regulate Joy-Riding**

Joy-riding, turkey-trotting and lack of privacy in overcrowded homes were discussed by Mrs. J. P. S. Neleigh, head of Neighborhood House.

"I do not think," she said, "that a girl who lives in a crowded house where she has no privacy can live a right life. I think there are two ways of investigating conditions. Get the story of the girls as well as of the employers.

"If recreation is taken away from home into public places, I think it should be regulated. I think there should be regulation of this joy-riding that sends so many girls astray, and we should stop rag dancing, for all those things help toward sending girls on the downward path.

### **Bars Society Girls' Dances**

"At the Neighborhood House, of which I am head, we furnish innocent recreation for girls. We have dancing, but we have no trouble in keeping our girls from rag dancing. I have had more trouble with society girls who have come down and volunteered their services."

Several who had been invited to attend the hearing sent word that although unable to appear they had prepared statements of their views which they were forward-

ing to the Commission, among them Mrs. Henry T. Rainey, wife of Illinois' representative from the Carrollton district.

Representative Robert P. Hill of Marion pledged the Commission that he would present a bill for an investigation of the vice problem in the District of Columbia.

A score and more of experts were waiting for an opportunity to present their views when the Commission was forced to adjourn by the approach of train time.

### **Board Returns to Chicago**

At the conclusion of the hearing the Commission left to return to Chicago. Requests from New York and Boston were received asking Chairman O'Hara to hold sessions in those cities, but the existence of the senatorial deadlock at Springfield made it imperative for the investigators to return. Later a more extensive inquiry in the East is contemplated.

## Chapter XIII

### MANY GIRLS RESENT CHARGES

[Mollie Morris in the Chicago Daily News.]

Just because a girl earns only \$5 a week is she necessarily wicked?

That she is might be thought the logical deduction from the line of inquiry followed by the committee investigating conditions leading to vice in Chicago, say the girls who feel that they have been misrepresented.

Scores of girls who work in department stores and other places of business and who manage to maintain a neat appearance and keep their self-respect on \$5, \$6 or \$7 a week wish it to be known that low wages and vice do not necessarily go together.

It is pointed out by these young women that a great deal of harm has been done to them. It is bad enough, they say, to scrimp and save and toil for the low wage, without having the neighbors and others who know their circumstances turn up their noses, smile sarcastically or raise eyebrows and say:

"She earns \$5 a week and you know what that means."

#### Made Object of Contempt

There are also customers who come into the stores, eye the girls superciliously and, remembering what has been said about the poorly paid shop girl and her "gentle-

man friend," make her feel that she is the object of curiosity and contempt.

These supercilious ones are among the least harmful of that part of the public whose attention has been focused upon the low wage employee. There is the man of no morals, who has been led to believe from what he has read that all girls earning little money are willing to be his prey. It has encouraged him to take his stand on a corner near the entrances of stores where the girls pass in the evening and to follow and annoy them. All this, the girls say, has worked to their detriment.

### One \$6 a Week Girl Talks

"All this talk about the \$6 a week girl finding it impossible to go straight is wrong," said a bright young girl, Miss D—— F——, as she stood in front of her locker in the restroom of one of the stores at noon, putting on her wraps preparatory to going to a "lunch club" for a 7 cent meal. "I don't mean that it is an easy thing to get along on that amount of money, or that a girl isn't often tempted by pretty clothes and a natural longing for good times, but what I do mean is that we do keep straight! It is not so bad for me," she went on to say, "because I have a mother and I live at home. I turn over every cent of my \$6 a week to her and she manages some way to clothe and feed me, although there are younger brothers and sisters, and I really ought to be earning more, to help."

The girl spoke with dignity and seriousness. She was pretty, too, in her plain little rough winter coat and black hat, and she said she had had good schooling and had gone for a time to business college, but \$6 a week as cashier



seemed to be all she could command at present. She was asked to tell something of her life, what she got out of it in the way of amusement.

She laughed a little.

"There isn't much of that," she said. "By the time I get home after working from 8 to 6 I am pretty tired, but there are the dishes to wash, often a bit of ironing to finish for mother or some mending and things to do for the younger children.

### Has No Money for Shows

"No, I haven't been to a 'show' or any place of amusement this winter. The kind of men who would ask me out are not the right kind, and I could not go with any other. It is so with most of us girls. We have not the money for pretty clothes to attract the boys who would really care for us and of course we have no money to pay for our own amusement, and as a result we stay at home."

"If you had no home and were compelled to board could you get along on \$6?" she was asked.

"I'd hate to have to try," she answered, "but I know a girl who does. She lives at our house and pays \$4 for her board. With the other \$2 she has to pay car fare and buy clothes. We all help her as much as we can. I'd be more pleased for her sake than for my own if the law raised the minimum wage," she said as she gave her hair a final pat and went out of the room.

### Tells How She Spends \$7

Perched up on her high cashier's stool sat Miss J—S——, a soft voiced, fair-haired young girl, who admitted she got \$7 a week.

"What do you do with your money?" she was asked.

"All that \$7?" she said, brightly, as she did something to a cash register in front of her and fixed a piece of paper on a spindle. "Why, I pay \$4.50 for my room and board, which includes my lunch, which I carry with me every day, and I live away out on the west side too far to walk to work, so I spend 60 cents car fare. That leaves me \$1.90 for clothes and matinee tickets and flowers and taxicabs and, oh, yes, medicines. I've been sick so much of late that I haven't had a full week's pay for I don't know how long, and there were those old medicines to be bought. That has surely cut down my dress allowance considerably."

"But how do you clothe yourself on that?"

### Makes Her Own Clothes

"I don't have much," she said, seriously. "At night and on holidays I sew. I make my waists and skirts and everything except shoes."

The store where she works requires the girls to wear black or black and white, and she had on a plain skirt and a pretty muslin waist with a strip of embroidery around the square neck and on the sleeves. Youth did the rest to make her attractive.

"You are not the gay young thing that you are said to be, then? No presents of fine clothes, jewels and gay suppers?"

The girl shook her head.

"No, I work every minute I am home. My landlady is kind and does my laundry work because she feels sorry for me and I have so little time, but I always have some sewing or mending on hand. I go out sometimes with a

young man I know. His 'folks' are good to me, too, and without them I should not have much fun."

"Could conditions ever be so bad that the 'gay life' would appeal to you?"

The big blue eyes opened wide. The pale face had been pale before.

"No, oh, no. Why, I haven't anything, not even health, but nothing could make me think of 'going wrong,' but it seems people do not give us credit for feeling that way."

### Docked of All But 20 Cents

Two other girls were standing near. One, a little dark haired miss, said her name was R——M——, and that she lived at home. Her money goes toward keeping up the family and her spare time, she said, was passed helping to make the simple clothes and keeping herself in trim for work that lasts from 8 to 6 every day except Sundays.

"Do you believe they will raise the wages of women?" asked the third girl. "Goodness knows we all need the money," she added. "The other week I had bad luck and I haven't caught up yet. I had been short in my accounts, made mistakes. I am cashier," she explained, "and when I got my envelope I had only 20 cents coming to me out of my \$7. Think of that, and my mother depending upon me for the week's groceries and seven of us children at home! The others are all too young to work."

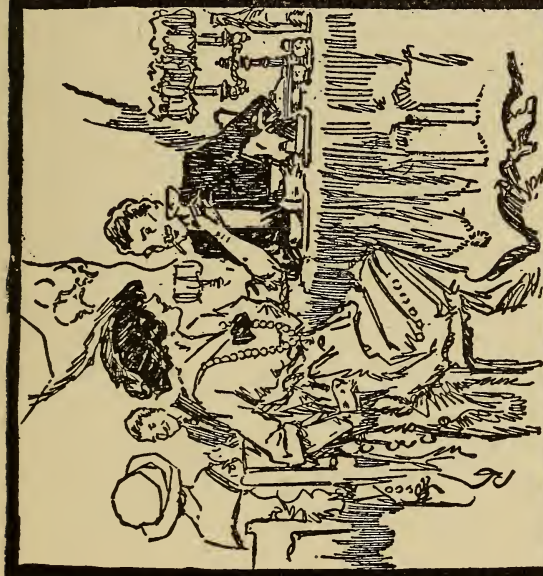
The other girl gave her name as Sallie. Sallie is a blue-eyed pink-cheeked girl, and she thinks girls have a pretty hard time to get along on \$7, but she says that only a fool would listen to any of the soft talk men give them about clothes and the like.

### Awake to Snares of Men

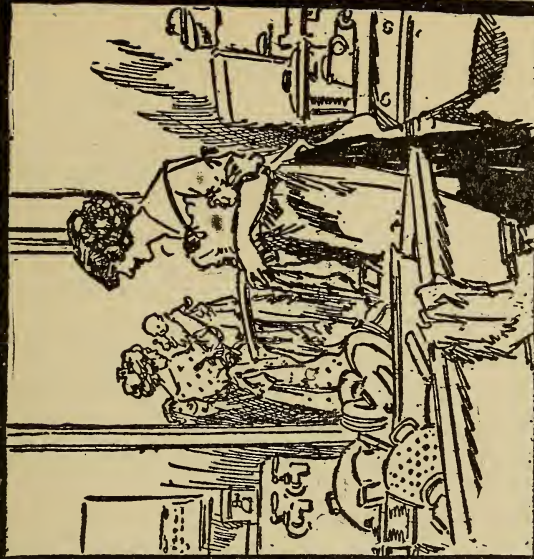
"I know how it is," Sallie said. "A fellow you think is all right asks you to go for a walk or to the nickel show and you pass gay windows with pretty dresses displayed. You stop to look. 'Like that dress?' the fellow says. 'Oh, it's lovely,' you say. 'Well, I can buy you prettier ones,' he says, 'if you will come and be my sweetheart,' and sometimes the girl is fool enough to do it."

One experienced saleswoman in one of the State street stores—one who has worked her way up and won the respect of her employers—declared it was not the poorly paid \$5 and \$6 a week girls who were giving the vice committee work to do, but the divorcees and married women who would not stay at home, but preferred to work downtown and flirt with men. They were setting the bad example for the younger girls.

"Let the poor little strugglers alone," she said. "They deserve the respect and assistance of every one, because they work hard and take their money home. It is wicked to brand them as the evildoers. Nor are the stores to blame for conditions. Most of them do all they can to surround their help with moral influences. It is in the home that the fault lies."



THE IMAGINARY.



THE REAL.

SKETCHES INDICATING (AT LEFT) HOW EVIL FANCY HAS PICTURED THE LEISURE HOURS OF A GIRL WHO GETS LOW WAGES, AND (AT RIGHT) THE WAY A MAJORITY REALLY PASS THEIR EVENINGS,

[Sketches by a staff artist of the Daily News.]



## CHAPTER XIV

### OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

The editorial opinions of the press, especially of the Chicago newspapers, expressed during the investigations of the Illinois Vice Commission which developed the question of low wages as an important factor in dealing with immorality, are of deep interest to all concerned. The attitude of the Chicago Tribune in particular—"the World's greatest newspaper"—was the subject of much public curiosity during the sessions of the Commission at which large employers of Chicago labor—large advertisers most of them—were examined, and no excuse therefore need be offered for reproducing the series of interesting and informative Tribune editorials in full.

#### The Vice Inquiry

(Chicago Tribune, March 11.)

The tendency to investigate the economic sources and aspects of the social evil developed within a very few years marks a gratifying broadening of the social consciousness. An inquiry into this dark problem in the last decade would have dealt primarily if not entirely with the religious, moral, and legal phases. The present senatorial inquiry begins with the economic factor.

Thus far the hearings, though colored here and there with inevitable rhetoric and loose talk, have developed interesting data, and this line of research should be followed fairly and fearlessly until a solid body of significant



facts is laid down for a basis of intelligent action—legislative and administrative. The minimum wage idea is one of the most insistent at this time, and while it is directed at more evils than the so-called social evil, its bearing upon the latter is likely to provide its chief support with public opinion.

The powerful moral impulse aroused by this tragic subject should not be allowed to precipitate hasty conclusions. That poverty with its drain upon the moral and physical being is an important contributory cause of social delinquency is not to be denied. But the most accurate data should be procured to ascertain approximately what the weight of low wage is relatively to other factors. The social factors should be considered as well as the economic, or we shall fall as far short of dealing practically with the question as the previous generation, which ignored the latter.

No one who keeps his eyes open in this city can doubt the laxness of parental discipline is one of the chief perils, if not the chief, in the situation of the young. Girls and boys are permitted to remain upon the street late in the evenings. No conception seems to enter the minds of thousands of parents of what this must mean in breaking down the reserves of modesty and caution, and the "maximum of opportunity" seems to be added almost deliberately with the "maximum of temptation."

The problem of city youth is a tremendous one. But it begins in the home. This cannot be reached by legislation, but a public official body of investigators should consider it, and in drawing up a report should call public attention to this basic fact of the whole problem. Sexual life is powerful, and it needs moral direction and control as well as protection from economic overstrains.

The home, the school, the social resorts, the playgrounds, the theater, as well as the place of employment are all within the problem and must be studied and considered if this investigation is to reach its maximum usefulness.

It is gratifying to find that the witnesses thus far heard have shown the best of spirit and an inclination to act promptly for the betterment of conditions.

---

### Go Slow!

(Chicago Tribune, March 14.)

The senatorial investigation into white slavery and the social evil which has begun with consideration of the relation of wages to that problem can accomplish much good.

It is also capable of accomplishing serious and widespread harm.

If it is carried forward on the crest of a wave of hysteria it will destroy, not create.

If it is not carefully and honestly directed it will result in legislation which will injure women workers and aggravate the very evils it seeks to ameliorate or cure.

The demagogue, the sensationalist, the sentimentalist can do more damage with the leverage of uninformed public opinion and ill-considered legislation than years of repentance will give us time to recover from.

Such an investigation has great potentialities for good if it is broad enough and deep enough, if it includes the wisdom of economists, sociologists, business men and men and women who bring to it practical knowledge of all the conditions affecting public morality.

If it becomes the instrument of self-seeking politicians and of smattering pseudo-reformers it will be a curse to Illinois—and to its women in industry first of all.

To legislate a minimum wage is a vital, critical act of governmental power, involving a long step into an almost untried field of social control and affecting very gravely economic and social laws. If this legislation is not maturely considered it will be destructive of its own ends.

In Wisconsin, whose intelligent radicalism has led the way in many respects, they are interested in the minimum

wage. Yet they are not legislating spasmodically in that commonwealth, but with scientific thoroughness and deliberation. Their legislation is based on careful consideration of industrial zones and the widely varying social and economic conditions prevailing in different sections of the state. On the other hand there are indications that some of our investigators are blankly ignorant of such elements in the problem and are laboring under the dangerous delusion that all necessary to solve the problem they are addressing is to order the payment of an arbitrary liberal wage minimum.

Hasty and clumsily drastic legislation will set back any cause more than the worst tactics of bourbonism. The senatorial committee would do well to put on the brakes and take on a larger crew. Every real progressive, every informed humanitarian and social reformer, every woman in industry will pray to be delivered from impromptu laws which may shut the doors of honest opportunity to the worker and send women into the street rather than save them from it.

---

### Reason in Legislation

(Chicago Tribune, March 15.)

Reference has been made to the contrast between the crude assumptions of some of the Illinois senatorial investigators who are looking into the social evil and the careful wage proposals in our neighbor state. It does not seem to have dawned upon Mr. O Hara and some of his colleagues that if hasty legislation sets a minimum too high or too rigid the first and most seriously injured will be the women he proposes to save. In Wisconsin they are not going off half cocked, and their laws and proposed amendments will provide useful reading for our Illinois crusaders.

For example, the Mahon bill vests in an industrial commission the power and jurisdiction to (1) ascertain and fix such reasonable standards and to investigate, ascertain

and determine such reasonable classification of employers, employees, industries, and localities as shall be necessary to carry out the purposes and enforce the provisions of the living wage act; (2) to investigate, ascertain, and declare what is a living wage for women and minors under the conditions in various cases and classes of cases lawfully under consideration; (3) to adopt reasonable and proper rules and regulations for the exercise of its power, etc.

It is provided that upon complaint made to this industrial commission that the wages paid to a female or minor employee are not sufficient to maintain such employee under conditions consistent with her or his welfare, as defined in the act, the commission shall make a preliminary investigation. If upon inquiry there appears reasonable cause to believe the wage complained of is insufficient, then it becomes the duty of the commission to create a wage board consisting of two members chosen by the employers, two members by female employees in the occupation concerned, and one member of the industrial commission or a representative selected by the commission.

This wage board shall thereupon hold hearings at an appropriate place or places, summon witnesses, and otherwise carry on a full investigation of the question at issue.

Finally, the board shall report its findings to the commission, which may approve or disapprove, in the latter case having power to remand to the same board or to create a new one. If approved, the findings are binding upon all employers within the reasonable classifications as to industry, place, etc., made by the commission. Fine or imprisonment is provided for disobedience to wage findings.

An appeal to the law courts from the final decision of the industrial commission is provided, but only upon the issues whether (1) the wage board or commission acted without or in excess of its powers, or (2) the determination was procured by fraud.

The term "welfare" as used in the bill is defined to

mean "reasonable comfort, reasonable physical well being, decency, and moral well being."

An important provision of the bill is the following:

"The industrial commission shall make rules and regulations whereby any female or minor unable to earn the living wage theretofore determined upon shall be granted a license to work for a wage which shall be commensurate with his or her ability. Each license so granted shall establish a wage for the licensee, and no licensee shall be employed at a wage less than the rate so established."

Thus the proposed law recognizes that there is a relation between earning power and wages, and will continue to be until socialism takes the place of the wage system. A flat, arbitrary minimum would simply shut off the employment of those not able to earn it. In some cases this is socially desirable, though painful to the victims. In other cases it is not desirable, and the Wisconsin legislator wisely recognizes it.

Another fact recognized in this bill, but apparently ignored by some of our Illinois investigators, is the difference of conditions which make a wage adequate in one district, trade, or industry, and even, perhaps, necessary, while inadequate and unnecessary in another district, trade, or industry.

The worst thing that could happen from the point of view of the reforms sought by the vice committee is an act built in crass ignorance of economic law, in superficial consideration of facts disclosed, in hysterical or disingenuous overemphasis of the sexual aspect of the problem.

Time, impartial inquiry, and studious consideration alone can produce legislation which will protect and advance the interest of the woman and the child in industry. Sentimental rhetoric, hysterical "moral" sensibility, and mushroom legislation will not help, but hurt them. Legislation is needed—but legislation of the right kind.



## Wages and Vice

(Chicago Tribune, March 18.)

The warning against giving too much weight to the wage factor in the social evil is reiterated, and with growing reason. If the public is disposed to discount this warning when it comes from employers, it cannot be discounted in the case of social and religious workers in touch with the facts of social delinquency. It is a warning which should not be ignored.

Politicians may get some immediate profit from exaggerating the economic aspect of the social evil, but intelligent public opinion will insist upon the problem being studied honestly and every element presented for what it is worth, no less and no more.

That want puts a strain on the moral as well as the physical being is obvious. That low wages are a dominant factor in the social evil is a conclusion that has yet to be demonstrated. Poverty produces many ills. Starvation has induced theft, even murder. But to conclude from this that a large proportion of theft and murder is the result of low wages would be difficult to prove. It is little more doubtful, however, than that most women who indulge in sexual irregularities do so because their legitimate wages are \$5 instead of \$8 or \$12.

Lieut. Gov. O'Hara is quoted in the New York Herald as follows:

"Our investigation into the causes and effect of white slavery in this state has shown conclusively that thousands of good girls are going wrong every year merely because they cannot live upon the wages paid them by employers."

This statement is in contrast to the following of Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, whose knowledge of social conditions, and especially of juvenile delinquency, is considerably wider and deeper than Mr. O'Hara's is or will be for a good many years:

"I've no doubt that some working girls are driven to an immoral life by an insufficient wage, but on the whole



we may well be proud of the virtue of our working women. It is in the disreputable dance halls that the white slave recruiters are working today. And it is the duty of society to protect the women in industrial life. They can live on \$8 a week, yes, but it would mean ugly clothes, unappetizing food, and unsatisfactory lodging. And above all they must have safe recreation."

If Mr. O'Hara has evidence to support his sensational allegations, it has not yet been disclosed. If he has not, he stands convicted of a piece of unscrupulous buncombe. The facts are called for.

The harm done by the exaggeration of this aspect of the social evil is plain. It encourages delinquency by providing an easy excuse—an excuse which offers a sentimental, pathetic justification for self-sale. A girl who sells herself because she is hungry or cold or homeless is to be profoundly pitied—and, what is more practical, is to be aided. But a girl who sells herself because she wants luxuries she cannot pay for, while quite human, is in a different class. In Mr. O'Hara's data we suggest he make the distinction.

Another damage done by overemphasizing the wage factor is that it obscures the important social and moral factors. As The Tribune already has pointed out, the city streets are full of young girls and boys, mingling without surveillance, late into the evening. They are proof that many parents are neglecting their duty. They are proof that the community is neglecting its duty. Better provision must be made for wholesome association and pastime.

"Youth will be served." It is not enough merely to condemn present conditions. It is necessary to provide better ones. The vicious dance hall should be abolished but reform should not stop there. The feet of youth are dancing feet. An enlightened community should see that they have places to dance—places not full of deadly pitfalls.

By all means let us have well considered legislation to check "parasite business" and provide if possible that

women and children shall no longer be tempted or forced to work for a wage which will not permit them to live wholesomely. But let us understand that this is but one phase of our problem, and let us multiply the resources for clean and constructive entertainment in city and country.

---

### **Minimum Wage Questions**

(Chicago Tribune, March 21.)

In studying the question of a minimum wage there must be taken into account not only what the largest and richest employers can afford to pay as a minimum wage but what minimum wage can be paid by the great majority of business and professional people.

Undoubtedly such prosperous employers as the big stores of Chicago and the big mail order houses, whose conditions alone have been investigated by the Illinois commission, can pay any minimum wage which the legislature may fix.

But how about the small employers? How about the little storekeeper, the corner groceryman, the butcher, the dentist, the doctor?

An unworkable law might put these out of business and turn their employees out of work.

This, of course, would result to the advantage of the same large employers.

The commission has only touched its subject.

---

### **The Voluntary Minimum Wage**

(Chicago Record-Herald, March 21.)

Several weeks ago a New Jersey public utility corporation announced a minimum wage of \$9 a week for its female employees. In making that announcement it frankly accepted responsibility for the moral, as well as the physical, welfare of such employees. Its action was commended throughout the country.

Now the International Harvester Company, a much larger employer of female labor, announces a voluntary increase in the minimum wage of girls and women. It makes \$8 the starting point. The action is in line with other improvements and welfare activities voluntarily undertaken by the company, and is eminently enlightened.

The fact remains, however, that thousands of girls are not worth \$8 a week and would not be employed at that wage. Legislation cannot arbitrarily decree that or any other figure as a minimum. To deprive thousands of girls of all employment, and, necessarily, of opportunity to learn some vocation or business and advance through increased efficiency, is to render them a very poor service. Neither the cause of industrial efficiency nor that of social and individual morality would be furthered by such short-sighted measures. Legislation must reckon with facts and see things as they are. Minimum wages should never be fixed by statute without a careful, impartial study of the conditions of the trade and locality for which a legal minimum is urged. The study and the recommendations should be made by a fit commission of practical and earnest men and women, not by legislators in-a-hurry who know little, if anything, about industry, industrial training and scientific economics.

## CHAPTER XV

### WHAT GIRLS AND WOMEN SAY

#### Describes Australian System

Speaking before the Cook County Real Estate Board in Chicago, March 18, 1913, Miss Alice Henry, editor of "Life and Labor," a working girls' magazine, described conditions among the working people in Australia before and after the institution of minimum wage laws there.

Miss Henry, a native of Australia, called the system in operation in Australia "an industrial agreement, enforced by law."

"I was in Melbourne when the minimum wage question was 'discovered' seventeen years ago," she said. "There was much 'home work' done by the working people there. Wages were so low and conditions so bad that something had to be done.

"The first minimum wage measure introduced applied only to women and children, but this was changed to apply to all workers, men and women. It was started in four trades—clothing (including shoes), baking, butchering and furniture manufacture.

"The movement was made by states, not by the federal government. The steps taken were these: Application was made first to a minister—a cabinet member. A resolution then was introduced into the state parliament, cor-

responding to the state legislature here. As a result of the resolution a board was nominated—say, for instance, a board of seven members. Three of these would represent the employers, three would represent the employees and there would be a chairman or umpire. This board was nonpolitical. Six of the members, coming as they did from the employers and the employees, were experts on the question to be considered.

### Board Framed the Law

“By this board a law was framed. A law was passed to last for two or three years, or until altered by a subsequent law. There is in Australia no penalty against striking, but strikes are rare.

“The minimum wage now applies to ninety-one trades or occupations, each of which is highly organized.

“The operation of this system has not ruined the country. Wages are 12 to 35 per cent higher than before. Hours of work have been reduced. The eight hour day, the Saturday half holiday and Sunday closing are practically universal.

“Deposits of the working people in the savings banks have increased fourfold. The state revenue has increased. Factories have increased 60 per cent. The number of workers has doubled.

“The minimum wage idea has been subjected in Australia to the severest test. It has been amended five times in the last seventeen years, always, however, with an increased scope. It has become practically an industrial agreement enforced by law.

**How It Benefits Employer**

"The reason why the employers approve of it is that it protects the good employer against the unfair competition of the unscrupulous employer. There is a tendency toward uniformity in the provisions between the different states. As yet, each state has its own wage laws, but there is a strong desire for federal legislation on the question.

"One feature, of course, that must be taken into consideration in comparing conditions in Australia and in this country is, the women of Australia vote. That, necessarily, makes a difference."

**From a Springfield Mother**

Chairman O'Hara and other members of the Illinois Vice Commission have received hundreds of letters from mothers of all stations in life throughout the country, regarding the work of the Commission. Here is a sample letter:

"Dear Lieutenant Governor O'Hara:

"Ordinarily I do not approve of anonymous letters, but there are occasions that present themselves when we would like to express an opinion on public matters without gaining any notoriety, and for that reason this letter goes to you without any signature. Nevertheless, the contents of this letter come from a truly genuine interest in the work you have taken up: The question of low wages and crime and the sacrifice of the young girls who are unable to withstand temptation.

"You have made a grand beginning in this matter and if you do not succeed any farther than the work already accomplished, I feel certain you have already laid the foundation for a monument to your memory for being



fearless and brave enough to make a beginning in what you think is morally right and just to all. Do not stop at the department stores in Chicago, but put forth every effort to continue your good work right here in Springfield (Illinois) where an investigation is much needed.

"This letter is not written in the interest of my own children for they still are in a position to remain at home, but who knows when they may have to go out into the world and come in contact with the temptations that befall young girls?

"Dear Mr. O'Hara, I do not know you, have never seen you, but I do want to know you and thank you from the bottom of my heart; and believe me, that as the shades of night fall around us and my own little family is safe in my home, we shall offer a prayer for you and your dear wife, asking God to be good and merciful to you, as you deserve His protection just as you are willing to fight for the protection of those less fortunate than you. I hope you will succeed and I feel sure that you will, for every mother who has the care of young girls will say all they can in favor of your work, hoping to see a successful ending.

"After you have lived in Springfield and mingled among the people of this city you will see for yourself the attitude that exists here among the young girls, not only the wage earner, but among the girls generally speaking. While we condemn the shop girl, it is the example displayed by the would-be social set that is just as much to blame for the condition as by those who go wrong through force of circumstances. Live and let live.

"(Signed.)

A MOTHER."

---

Following are a few of the letters that have appeared in the public press during recent investigations in Chicago and elsewhere. Most of these letters are from women and girls; a few, easily recognizable, from men.

### The Penniless Girl's Fate

Chicago, March 8.—In regard to the inquiry now being made as to whether poor wages paid in stores and factories are the main cause of girls going wrong, permit me to say this much:

I came to Chicago from a good, honest home, although poor. I found that it was almost impossible for an inexperienced girl to get employment, even at \$5 per week. I tried for six months.

Finally I had no money left with which to pay my way. By this I don't mean that I had only a few dollars left; I had not one penny in my shabby little purse.

At last I came to the point that I had not enough money to pay for food and shelter. The day came when, as I said, I had nothing.

I applied to the Women's Christian Association house, but they do not take in girls who are stranded, notwithstanding they have numerous little mottoes on their walls reading, "I was a stranger and ye took me in."

The result of this common, everyday story in Chicago was that I went wrong because of lack of money. If I could have found employment, even at \$5 per week, I believe I could have saved myself.

Do not understand me to say that \$5 is enough; it is a miserable wage. But what I wish to arrive at is this: If in Chicago and every large city some philanthropist instead of putting so much money into libraries, colleges, memorials, etc., would build a large house and have it understood that every girl and woman who finds herself stranded in a large city could go there and find a shelter, even if she has not one penny, until she can get her bearings (I do not mean a place where they can sponge; let it be so arranged that they can do some house work while there, and in the meantime be looking for employment), there are comparatively few girls who would try to take advantage of a place of this kind. Nearly all girls who want to work are honorable and self-respecting.

When this plan is carried out then there will have been more accomplished to save the girls of today than could possibly be done in any other way. It can be of no use to me personally, for my chance is gone, simply through lack of a few dollars and a place to sleep, and it is a source of grief to me daily that life could not have meant more to me. But there are thousands of girls who need help and protection.

Why not try my plan, you people who wish to do something for the cause of "white slavery?" To those who have always had plenty it possibly seems almost absurd that a girl could find herself utterly stranded. Nevertheless it is an everyday occurrence, and some day it may be your daughter or your sister.

Continue your investigation, senatorial commissioners, and, if possible, secure for the honorable, good, little working girl a decent living wage, but it is not so much the miserable small salary that is paid that causes so many downfalls; it is nine times out of ten an utter lack of money or employment. I know whereof I speak.

A GIRL OF THE UNDERWORLD.

---

### Minimum Wage for Women

Chicago, March 9.—To bring about a reform that is truly a reform it is necessary to have many viewpoints. A failure in this may lead to results that are not remedies. While we are considering the welfare of the individual working woman we must also consider the welfare of the entire body of working women. There should be a minimum wage for women, yet is there not a danger, in our enthusiasm, of demanding too high a minimum wage? The employer who is forced to pay to incompetent and indifferent employees a salary of \$12 a week cannot afford to increase the salaries of his trained and competent employees proportionately, and this must mean either injustice to the more conscientious and valuable workers or a loss to the business.

We have also to consider that many young women do as little work as they can do and hold their positions, not as much and as good work as they can for the salary they are paid. In such cases an assurance of a good salary would encourage indifference, and a loss of position, since a smaller salary could not be paid, would mean that some provision must be made for their support. Furthermore, among a large class of people the larger compensation would greatly increase the temptation on the part of girls to enter the industrial world at an early age and on the part of parents to give their children less education because of the benefit their earnings might be to the family.

The minimum wage should be something more than the amount which will barely cover the absolute necessities of life. The wage which does no more than that means "existing," not "living." But I do not see how we can justly demand that it shall cover any extravagances or encourage poor management. Before increased wages can result in much true benefit there must be education, education of the sort that will inculcate right ideals and teach good management. There is probably as much complaining of too small salaries on the part of the woman who could live comfortably on her salary if she would, but who covets the luxuries of the rich, as there is on the part of the one who has a real struggle to provide the necessities.

As for the young girl of 14 or 16 who is just entering the business world without preparation, it should not be expected that she should receive a woman's wage. If her parents cannot educate her to earn that amount they should at least contribute to her support until she has acquired the preparation through experience. The education of children is a just responsibility of their parents or of the state, not of the employer.

To pay any worker what he really earns, what he is worth to the business, is only justice. To pay an incompetent worker much more than he earns is an act of charity, and often misguided charity.

A WOMAN WHO WORKS.

### Ethics and Economics

Chicago, March 12.—I should like to answer “A Woman Who Works” upon the subject of “Minimum Wages for Women.” While, as she says, there is a great deal which may be said for “the other side” there is still more which can actually be done for the girls’ side. Who says that “all cannot earn the specified amount?” The idea is to protect those who cannot earn so much as their sisters. No matter what the reason may be, the girl must not be paid less than she can respectably live upon.

What we are striving to do is get a means which will enable any girl, whether she is beautiful or homely, clever or dull, old or young, alone or at home, to earn a good, respectable, honest living, free from the things which go with poverty. We want to make these girls earn enough so that their own people will love and respect them and see that they are protected. We want to hold them to their own people, too, so that when the day of great trouble comes, as it may to them all, they will have some one near to counsel and help them.

---

ADAMS STREET.

### On \$5 a Week

Chicago, March 12.—[Editor of the Tribune.]—In reading your articles on wages for women, I must say I think the agitation is one of the best things a paper has ever done for working girls. You can’t tell what it is to be hungry and cold and looking for work, and to be told \$5 is all you can get to start on. I have no home and I can’t get board for less than \$5 a week. Then there is the laundry and carfare and lunches. Three nights a week I have to work until 10 or 11 o’clock. Many are getting smaller wages than that. No girl who has to pay her own way in this world and live honestly can do it on less than \$12 per week. I hope and pray that you will have the blessing of God in everything if you can make some of these people pay for the misfortunes of some of the girls they have caused to fall.

A READER.



### Mr. Hillman's Testimony

Chicago, March 10.—Mr. Hillman should have the thanks of all honest people for his testimony before the O'Hara committee. When Mr. Hillman said he felt he was morally responsible for his help he told the truth. Others did not have the courage as he did to come out and state it. Would there were more employers of Mr. Hillman's type. It is the duty of all employers of help to do all they can to protect and help them when they are tempted to go wrong.

A LOVER OF HONESTY.

---

### Should Allow for Savings

Chicago, March 10.—Before the senate committee making investigations in regard to the wages paid to women and girls in our large establishments there has been much discussion as to what is the minimum wage a girl can live on and lead an upright life. That seems to have been the only question taken into consideration. Why should she not be paid such wages that it would be possible for her to save a little? If the employer or stockholder is entitled to more than a good living; if they are entitled to make accumulations, why is not the employee? The first question to consider is, How much can she save? The average employee should have a wage that it would at least be possible to save 20 or 25 per cent. Whether it is a man or woman matters not. Her purpose in life should not be only to benefit her employer. Unless it is possible to save, she can have no ambition.

A READER.

---

### One Employer's View

Editor Chicago American:—As an employer of girls I wish to say that I have found that when they go wrong it is through laziness and ignorance and the wages have nothing whatever to do with it. There is always plenty of room at the top for capable people. I believe every girl is exactly where she belongs, and getting every penny she is worth.



They have no ambition to work up and be able to earn \$12 per week. The idea is that some one must hand them a living, if they can earn it or not.

MARY E. W.

---

### Wants Minimum Wage for All

Editor Chicago Examiner:—I desire to call your attention to one phase of the proposed minimum wage scale for women. If the minimum wage for women is fixed at \$12 per week a like scale should be fixed for men or the very object of the Commission will be defeated. The reason is that there are thousands of men and boys working for far less than \$12 per week and many of them would seek the positions now held by women and girls for less wages than women might work for and the result will be that, instead of the small wage that a woman is now enabled to earn, she will be unable to earn anything. If low pay has anything to do with the vice problem, what will be the result if a large number of women and girls are placed in a position where they are unable to earn anything at all and the money that they have heretofore earned is paid to men and boys, because they are able to work for lower wages than women?

A. U. G. SIMS.

---

### Contributing Causes

Editor Chicago News:—A minimum wage law for women would be welcome and would mark a stride for progress. If it can be demonstrated (I do not think it can be) that the lowness of wages paid women and girls is what causes immorality among them it is my opinion that the majority of employers would soon raise wages and favor a minimum wage law.

Girls who go wrong usually get the start downward through the negligence or inability of ignorant or careless parents who are unqualified for the proper training of children. It is here a minimum wage law for men and women, assisted by a minimum education law, would have a more desirable effect.

Suggestive songs, cheap dive dance halls, saloons, poolrooms, obscene theaters, disreputable resorts and cafes, these with their evil influences and finished product cause more girls (also boys) to go wrong than low wages ever did.

The advertising given the immoral life through suggestive songs and other agencies has lifted its social stigma and made its entrance less reproachful. A number of candidates are only awaiting the provocation, which sometimes is low wages.

While the fallen woman question is being discussed we should bring into the same question the male of the species (who, by the way, is much greater in number), and we may arrive at a more sensible plan of action.

We shall have outgrown the causes of low wages, fallen people and their attendant evils when we have learned to exercise our intellects on problems concerning our social and economic conditions instead of the pink sheet.

---

T. ELLING.

### Minimum Wages

Editor Chicago News:—The fixing of a minimum wage scale for girl employees should be approached with caution by the legislature.

In Chicago of the thousands of young girls who are drawing the small wages of \$4 or \$5 a week about all of them live at home. Their wages clothe them and a small balance goes to assist the father or mother, who in most cases is struggling along on meager wages to support a large family. If a law is enacted compelling employers to pay a minimum wage of \$8, \$10 or \$12 a week, is it to be supposed that these young, inexperienced girls will retain their positions? Will not the employer do with less help and will he not force more work out of those he has? When he needs help, as a matter of course, he will employ older and more experienced persons. In many cases men will fill these places at the figures named. Would it not bring an influx of experienced girls from neighboring towns and cities and practically throw upon the streets thousands of young Chicago girls whose parents are unable to provide

for them and force them into a life of idleness? Vice and crime follow idleness. M.

---

### On \$5 a Week

Chicago, March 12.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Thinking that probably my experience as a working girl can be of some benefit in deciding whether \$5 a week is enough to keep a girl, would say that it might have been in grandma's days, but not at the present time. Some of the employers claim that they pay their help when they are ill and give them a vacation. This is very true, but are they the losers? The girls are only made to work harder while their sister is away. I, myself, am employed as a book-keeper for a number of years. I work honestly all the year around, and of course I get paid when I am ill, and even one week's vacation, which is a very short time, when a girl has to keep on going from 6:30 a. m. to 6:30 p. m. This same grind would wear out the very best machinery.

Even \$12 a week is a very small salary. Think of paying \$4 to \$5 a week for board and room. Where are your dinner money, carfare? A pair of shoes must be bought one week, a dress probably the next; each week brings in an extra expense item. Girls working in a department store must look presentable, so where does the laundry bill come in? How can she save a little for the rainy days? The employer who pays a girl \$5 a week would not give the girl a moment's notice when he intends to discharge her, but puts her out on her own resources, and what is the poor, homeless girl going to do? If she isn't brought up with the right spirit of right and wrong, when on every side there are numerous temptations, where is her destiny? If she is a pretty girl her downfall is positive, as the men of today are not of the marrying kind, consequently have to have something to pass their time away.

L. E. K.

---

### The Minimum Wage

Ripon, Wis., March 15.—Girls who get \$5 a week at

present are, as a rule, beginners. They are actually not worth their pay to the merchant. They are getting their business education at their employer's expense. Should your minimum wage law be enacted no merchant will employ inexperienced female help. In the readjustment young men will find places waiting. I can furnish you 100,000 in a week to take that pay. And they will do the work twice as easily and twice as well as girls. Men have business ambitions; girls, as a rule, have none. Do not dream that any increase of wages will come out of store profits. It never does. Service costs money. Increase the cost and the consumer pays it. I. F. STRAUSS.

---

### Let the Probing Go On

Chicago, March 17.—In the matter of the wages of women and morality it is worthy to note that if "the young men of today are not of the marrying kind," once again the answer may be found in the wage question and the cost of home maintenance. In any event, let the probing go on until the money craze meets itself face to face. E. L. K.

---

### The Home Environment

Ann Arbor, Mich., March 16.—In its attempt to establish such a vital connection between immorality and low wages, it would seem that the committee will find it a difficult matter to explain the widespread immorality among women who are engaged in occupations that are well paid. Possibly they will find that a demoralized home environment—or none at all—is a deeper cause for immorality than low wages.

A. P. MADDEN.

---

### Stenographers' Wages

Chicago, March 15.—Relative to the minimum wage for women, those trained for stenography receive no more in many situations than those wholly untrained for any trade, on account of the great number of those working in that profession, and because there is no trade organiza-

tion. I firmly believe that a minimum wage of \$12 per week for women and girl stenographers would be the only just wage; \$5 and \$6 are now often paid, and have been for years past. E. M. M.

### Low Wages and Sin

Gary, Ind., March 11.—Every decent American citizen is vitally concerned in the progress and outcome of the investigation being made by the Illinois legislature into the relation of sex immorality to low wages. There is only one fearful apprehension which confronts us, and that is that it will end in some paper resolutions, which will "view with alarm" the awful facts which have been disclosed. That is where the Chicago Vice Commission has buried its information, and it is the same graveyard in which ministerial conferences have interred their varied information of the state of affairs. The people demand practical results.

With reference to the prediction made in the testimony of Mr. Thorne that Illinois would suffer through factories leaving the state if a minimum wage law of \$12 were enacted, such a situation would never occur. It is simply an effort to intimidate the legislators; but we hope they are built of sterner stuff, unable to be scared by such bugaboos.

The evidence is incontrovertible that low wages are responsible for unchastity; that the employers can well afford to remunerate their employees better; that this is not being done. Let the good work proceed. Let the city co-operate by driving out the dives and panders, and Illinois will have done a good day's work. Indiana will be compelled to do likewise. E. BRADDOCK.

### The Kitchen Remedy

Chicago, March 5.—I read in The Tribune that a young girl had been arrested for stopping a man on the street and soliciting money. Her excuse to the judge was that she was so poorly paid by the store for which she worked



that it was impossible to live on the money. She named the sum received weekly and the judge at once dismissed her, as he agreed that it was not possible for her to live on that amount. Now I will tell any woman who is obliged to work for her living how she can live honorably and comfortably if she chooses to do it.

In February, 1909, a young girl came to this country from Sweden. She could speak only a few words of English when she landed in Boston; those were learned on the boat. She came at once to Chicago to find employment and in July, 1909, was engaged by me as a domestic. As our house is small and there are only two in the family and I am compelled to live very quietly on account of ill health I need only one maid. She does the cooking, washing, and ironing and cleans the house on the inside. Thursdays and Sunday afternoons are her days out. After the dinner dishes are washed in the evening her time is her own till she begins breakfast in the morning. She is paid \$6 a week and given room and board. Up to this time she has put \$300 in the bank and has bought plenty of nice clothes.

She dresses well and has also paid a dentist's bill of \$150 and will soon have another bill of \$50 to pay. She will not have to draw on her bank account for that or for her spring clothes, as the money that has been coming in since January, 1913, will pay for all.

R. E. O.

### "Me Go Into a Kitchen!"

Berwyn, Ill., March 5.—I note with much regret that the Vice Commission reiterates the insult that is freely offered—even from the bench—that girls whose wages are less than \$6 per week are living lives of shame unless they live at home. It is a base, wicked slander on thousands of honest working girls whose lives are pure as snow. Not only that, the falsehood is putting on their track libertines who would not think of approaching them without this information that they are all for sale, that it is impossible for them to live clean lives (morally, for it



may be physically difficult) on \$6 a week. She cannot live well, but no decent girl sells her body for books—as one sinning sister said—for pleasure, for clothes, or for food when there are so many decent kitchens ready to take even inexperienced workers at fairly good wages. Low wages never made a white slave unless she was morally unclean. She might be made into a thief by low wages, but nothing worse. One woman of the underworld when urged to lead a better life said she could not make a living and when offered kitchen work said, “Me go into a kitchen!”

Raise woman’s wages if possible, but not so high that it is more than she can possibly earn; but whatever you do, cease putting the tempter on her track by repeating the insulting falsehood.

S. E. M.

---

### “Back Door, Please!”

Chicago, March 24.—All statistical reports which I have noticed show a far greater per cent of girls who go wrong among those engaged as domestics. I think it will be conceded by all that the “kitchen girl” who receives, besides board and lodging, \$5 a week [which is considerably below the average for such service] is earning more clear profit than the girl employed in factory, store, or office who receives \$12 a week [which is considerably above the average], as out of the latter amount must come board, lodging, car fare, lunches, and washing. Considering this, we can hardly say that low wages are to blame for her downfall.

However, the girl from the factory, the store, or the office enters and leaves the place which she calls home by the way open to all self-respecting persons, the front door. What is more, her guests do the same. But the stigma of serfdom is placed upon the domestic, who is supposed to have the protection of a good home, and she must skulk around the house after dark if she wishes to go in or go out, and, what is much more humiliating, her guests must do likewise. Many a man who would hesitate to walk up

and ring the front door bell will tap on the kitchen window or door and ask to be admitted.

I wonder how many club women, society women, church women, temperance women, or philanthropic women are really enough in earnest in regard to diminishing this evil to go home and say "Bertha, Nora, or Hilda [as the case may be], hereafter I would like to have you enter and leave the house by the same door as the rest of the household, especially at night, and please tell your friends I would like to have them use the front entrance also."

Does the back door entrance have anything to do with this evil? Statistics indicate that it has.

PHILOSOPHER.

## Chapter XVI

### TWO VIEWS OF THE PROBLEM

#### A Great Merchant's View

"Will \$2 save a girl? Will \$3?" demanded Henry Siegel, the New York merchant, when interviewed by a special correspondent of the Chicago Tribune in connection with the work of the Illinois investigators who have a minimum wage law under consideration.

Not the wage, but the bringing up and home influence, determine the morality of a girl, according to this employer of 5,000 or 6,000 men and women, boys and girls.

A minimum wage, he held, would drive women out of business, because a man at \$12 is worth more than a woman at \$7 or \$9. It would force the girls into the streets, he declared.

#### Says Sympathy Is Blinding

"The hysteria of sympathy," he said, "has blinded the Chicago investigators to the results of the law they propose. Out of pity for the woman I am opposed to the minimum wage law.

"Women would be driven from business and men would take their places. When such a law is enacted more women will be upon the streets of our cities than ever before in the history of this country.

"I resent the implication that women and girls employed in stores are as a class immoral. They are as moral

as any people you can find. They are above the average. Good salespeople rank high. Their intelligence, and, above all, their morality should not be impugned. Indeed, I do not know of one among all my employees who is immoral. I could not point out one.

### **Morality up to Associations**

"It is ridiculous to say that paying a woman \$2 a week more or less will make her immoral. The matter is one of associations and relatives. I could point out one of the best paid professions in which women are engaged which I am sure would reveal a larger percentage of immorality.

"If the mother is careless, uninterested in her children; if the girls are allowed to run the streets, it makes little difference what the wages are as against the temptations.

"The employer is not responsible for the morality of his employees. How can he be? Let those who propose the minimum wage as a cure for vice pause and ask if they are not denying the very existence of integrity aside from an attendant consideration of cash. Will \$2 save a woman? Will \$3?

### **Safeguards About Employees**

"In saying that an employer is not responsible for the morality of his help I do not mean that he must take no concern as to their welfare. I mean that other circumstances have a primary influence.

"As a matter of fact I have expressed my confidence in the 6,000 women in my employ because of certain safeguards provided by the management. We will not employ immoral girls. Such characters are discharged. They are not only inefficient, but their influence is bad.

"An employer can be held accountable within reason for the environment in which his work people find themselves. But immorality is subject to an absolute standard, it cannot be gauged by financial considerations. If a clerk is paid \$25 and has a taste for automobiles and other forms of extravagance, immorality resulting, then is the employer responsible?

### **Wages Depend On Merit**

"Now to consider the minimum wage proposal in the point of effect. Girls, as well as men, must be paid in proportion to their services. Wages depend upon merit. Girls in my employ have worked up from cash girls to buyers at salaries from \$40 to \$50 a week. All cannot be paid alike.

"I think from \$7 to \$9 is the least girls without family can live on. Within this range it depends upon the woman."

---

### **Menace to Womanhood Must Be Removed**

(Lt. Gov. Barratt O'Hara of Illinois in *The Day Book*,  
Chicago.)

The question of a minimum wage has passed beyond the realm of economics.

It has become intricately woven into the problem of our American womanhood, and as such it is unquestionably the most vital issue of today.

Whatever else may happen, no man will deny that every effort must be made, and made speedily, to stamp out once and for all the shame of white slavery in America.

This despicable traffic reaches into every city and town

of the land and down at the roots of the evil lies the crime of starvation wages!

If a minimum wage law is a necessary step on the road to this second great emancipation in our union, then a minimum wage law must be put into effect at the earliest moment possible.

The mass of testimony presented to the committee appointed by the Illinois senate to investigate the white slave problem in this state, and of which I happen to be chairman, leaves little room for doubt that low wages and vice do go hand in hand!

In every city of the United States hundreds and thousands of girls are receiving less, and considerably less than \$5 a week!

Can they live virtuously on these pittance?

Let every city and town from coast to coast and boundary line to boundary line investigate penetratingly into home conditions and the result is not apt to be far different from the result in Illinois.

A large majority of the fallen women who are coming before our committee confess that they sacrificed their virtue in order to live!

Their wages were not sufficient to keep off starvation.

When such a shameful fact confronts us, there seems one effective and imperative solution.

Now I do not wish to be considered as one who commends a woman who will give up her virtue in preference to her life, if the crisis arises.

But I am humiliated to know that because of grinding wages the crisis is ever allowed to loom in all its ugliness before any American girl!



And if these wages are paid by millionaire "philanthropists," so much more ugly is the blot on our pride.

From every angle of the evidence thus far presented to Senators Juul, Beall, Tossey, Woodard and myself, it appears conclusively that wages have much to do with white slavery.

A minimum wage law, then, would seem to be the only natural remedy.

Finding this to be the case, I have communicated with the governor of each and every state in the union, suggesting a commission similar to that now at work in Illinois. From many of these I have already heard.

I have little doubt that we shall have prompt and definite action throughout the country resulting in legislation establishing a pretty uniform minimum wage scale.

We have also visited President Wilson, asking his support of a national minimum wage law.

With the overwhelming popular sentiment existing in favor of a minimum wage law, I feel no doubt as to the prompt saving of thousands of girls through the abolition of starvation wages.

The menace to American womanhood must be removed now and forever, or America will go the way of Rome.

It is our patriotic duty to stand by this until the problem is solved!

---

### Results of the Inquiry

"Three notable results," says Chairman O'Hara, "have come from the investigations made by the Illinois Senate Commission on 'white slavery.'"

"There has been a general exodus by the country girl

from the city. Parents, aroused at the revelations we have made, are sending for their daughters, who now are glad to go home.

"The second effect we have noted is that child labor has been discouraged. Employers are commencing to dread public criticism which is being heaped upon them for employing very young girls.

"The third, and almost equally important effect, has been the decrease in the number of girls of well-to-do families who apply for work 'just for the fun of it.' Such girls have had more to do in making for immorality than is known generally. Drawing an allowance from their parents, they dress in a manner that their poorer sisters cannot imitate, at the wages paid, unless they sell their virtue.

"The fearless attitude of the press deserves the highest praise, for without its co-operation we could not have accomplished a mite of the results already attained.

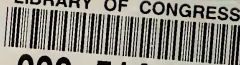
"These results were brought about by the support of the press, but for the ultimate solution of the complex problem we must look to the mothers."



AUG 9 1913



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 029 514 462 2